



THE MADRAS LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL

Saturday, 10th May 1952.

The House met in the Council Chamber, Fort St. George, at eleven of the clock, Mr. Chairman (THE HON. DR. P. V. CHERIAN) in the Chair.

[Note.—An asterisk (*) at the commencement of a speech indicates revision by the Member.]

I.—MOTION *RE* BREACH OF PRIVILEGE OF THE HOUSE ARISING OUT OF THE ISSUE OF ORDERS UNDER SECTION 144, C.P.C., WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO CERTAIN LEGISLATURE PARTIES.

MR. CHAIRMAN :—“ I have received a letter from the hon. Member Sri S. B. Adityan, which reads as follows :—

‘ I will raise a question of privilege arising out of—

(1) the promulgation of an *ex parte* order under section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code on 6th May 1952 which contained false and insulting allegations against certain sections of the Members of this hon. House,

(2) physical obstruction and annoyance caused to Members of this House, who were on their way to attend the joint sitting of the Legislature.

And I will move that this matter be referred to the Committee of Privileges (Rule 143) for enquiry, and report to this hon. House.”

“ The hon. Member may explain the matter to the House.”

* SRI S. B. ADITYAN :—“ Mr. Chairman, Sir, I understand that the procedure for raising a question of breach of privilege of this nature is like this. First, the Member who gives notice of the matter will make out a *prima facie* case. Then the Hon. Chairman will hear both sides of the House and give a ruling as to whether a *prima facie* case establishing the breach of privilege has been made out or not. If the Chair rules that a *prima facie* case has been made out, a motion will have to be moved in the House, usually by the Leader of the House and, if he is unwilling, by any other Member, for referring the matter to the Committee of Privileges. Rule 143 of the Council Rules provides for the constitution of a Committee of Privileges. After the Committee goes into the matter and reports to the House, there will be a full discussion. As I am in the first stage, I have merely to make out a *prima facie* case to establish the breach of privilege. I take exception to two portions of the order promulgated under section 144. They are—

‘ (1) Whereas it has been made to appear to me that the Members of the Legislative Assembly and the Legislative Council of the Madras State belonging to the United Democratic and the Communist Parties . . . have decided to stage demonstrations on May 6, 1952, in front of the new Assembly Hall, Government Estate, Mount Road, by taking out processions, shouting slogans and carrying placards and flags . . .

and (2) that acts of violence and mischief are likely to be committed.’

The first part says that some Members of this hon. House have decided to stage demonstrations. As I understand the language, the second part also applies to the same Members of this House, though it does not specifically say so. Here are two definite allegations made against some Members of this House. I shall content

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myself with saying that neither the members of the United Democratic Party nor the Members of the Communist Party in this House decided to stage demonstrations as alleged. I say that the United Democratic Front comprises the Communist Party and therefore there is no point in talking about them as separate entities. Here is a very clear case of false and insulting allegations made against certain Members of this hon. House. It does not matter which section of the House is insulted. The breach of privilege of any Member or any section of the House, is a breach of privilege of the House as a whole.

“The second instance of breach of privilege that I have raised is with reference to the physical obstruction and annoyance caused to Members of this House who were on their way to attend the joint sitting of the Legislature. I shall content myself with reading from a signed statement of Sri S. Ramakrishniah, a Member of this House—

‘On the 6th instant I arrived at the gate of the Government House Estate just five minutes to 5 p.m. and was about to enter to attend the joint session of the Legislature. The policemen at the gate obstructed me and demanded the pass for my entrance. I said I am a Member of the Legislative Council and as such have a right to get in to attend the session. I also told them that passes had not been given to the Members and so they could not prevent me from attending on this account. My reasoning fell flat on their ears. They said: “May be, you are a Member, but how are we to know that? Unless you show us the pass, we cannot allow.” So, I was standing by the side of that gate wondering as to what should be done at that juncture. I was not allowed even to stand there. They told me in a menacing voice to clear out from there, because standing there constituted an offence. It was very humiliating. I made up my mind to go back. I had gone only a few yards when I met a Sub-Inspector to whom I narrated the whole story. He said: “There are Government Orders and they have got to be obeyed. You find fault with us, but we cannot help you.” I persisted in saying I had the right to enter and kept protesting. Finally after ten minutes the officer permitted me to go. As a result of the obstruction and molestation, I arrived five minutes late at the Assembly Chamber for the joint session of the Legislature.’

I do not know whether any authorities are required to show that obstruction to any Member while going to or coming from a meeting is a breach of privilege of the House. It is said on page 122 of ‘May’s Parliamentary Practice—’

‘It is a breach of privilege to molest a member of either House while attending such House or when coming to or going from it. . . . It is a gross breach of the privilege of this House for any person to obstruct and insult the members of this House in the coming to, or the going from, the House.’

Here is a clear case where a Member has been molested by being asked for a pass which he did not possess. He had been obstructed and detained with the result that he went late by five minutes. I need not adduce further evidence at this stage. Assuming that what has been said is true, a breach of privilege has been committed. I submit that I have made out a *prima facie* case. I request you to rule that a *prima facie* case has been made out so that the motion can be moved.”

* THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI:—“Mr. Chairman, Sir, the request is that you should hold that there is a *prima facie* case of breach of privilege on the grounds stated. I respectfully submit that there is no *prima facie* case for the allegation that there has been a breach of privilege. The first ground stated was

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that the issue of the order under section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code was itself a breach of privilege of this House. The terms of the order have been read by the hon. Member and I wish to submit that there is no aspersion cast on the Members of the House individually or collectively in that document. I only wish to ask you, Mr. Chairman, to consider the alternative case. Supposing a warrant had been issued by the Commissioner of Police that Mr. A. or Mr. B. who is a member of this House or a larger number of members of this House numbering from A to Z have committed such and such an offence and are therefore liable to be arrested. As a matter of fact certain cases have actually occurred when Members of Legislatures had been charged for offences. Then such a thing should not be construed as a breach of the privilege of the House, because whether the charge is right or wrong, there is provision for judicial proceedings in the Constitution for such cases. Now in this case, information had been received by the Commissioner of Police that certain acts were contemplated which would certainly lead to disturbance not only to the proceedings of the Assembly but also in the streets and roads around the Assembly. I can only say that if at the time when hon. Members had been summoned by His Excellency to hear his Address at the joint meeting of both Houses of the Legislature, the Commissioner of Police did not take suitable steps to prevent such a disturbance, and disturbance had occurred, then it would have been a great breach of privilege of the House. If the Commissioner had received information that such a thing would happen and the Governor had been asked to address without precautions being taken, I as an abettor and the Commissioner of Police as the principal offender would have been guilty of a serious breach of privilege of the Members of the two Houses of Legislature. Here the Commissioner of Police took measures under the instructions of the Government to prevent any such disturbance taking place in and around the Assembly hall and the streets and roads around the Assembly. Therefore I submit that it is wrong to assume that the order issued was a malicious one and that amounted to a breach of privilege of hon. Members of this House. 11-15
a.m.

“ My hon. Friend Mr. Adityan referred to the classical book, viz., May's Parliamentary Practice. Throughout that quotation the hon. Member could see that a breach of privilege would be construed to have been committed only if there had been molestation or insult. Therefore you will observe, Mr. Chairman, that it is *mens rea* that counts. An hon. Member on the other side has asserted that there was a breach of privilege. I assert, on this side, that the intentions of the Government and of the Commissioner of Police who acted under the instructions of the Government were not either to molest or insult any hon. Member. As a matter of fact, only to prevent the disturbance of peace the order had been issued. In the light of what I have said, you can see, Sir, that there is nothing in the order aiming at any slight or insult to hon. Members of this House.

“ The Commissioner of Police had received some information that a demonstration was going to take place. He had the discretion to decide whether the information he had received was

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trustworthy, whether it was sufficient for him to form any conclusions and whether there was refutation or confirmation of that information in the daily press devoted to the politics of the particular parties referred to in the information he had received. On a perusal of the daily press of these parties anyone with eyes and with an impartial mind could reasonably judge whether a demonstration and consequent disturbance could be expected or not on the 6th of May when the Governor was going to address both Houses of Legislature. If such a disturbance did not materialise then it may be that wisdom prevailed, or it is possible that the preventive steps taken proved successful or it may even be that the *locus paenitentiae* the particular party had was utilised and they stopped doing what they intended to do. As a matter of fact, Sir, you were present in the House at the time of the Governor's Address. You were present there when an enormous breach of privilege took place inside the House of which more will be heard later. I need not refer to that now. At any rate you were present and heard the shouts and slogans raised in the gallery as soon as the signal was given by a walk-out. I ask, Sir, if persons had come into the galleries with such a programme in mind, what would you expect the Government and their officials to do than to prevent such a thing happening and keep a watch over the people coming in?

"Now, Sir, it is stated that the promulgation of the order contains false and insulting allegations against hon. Members of this House. I submit that there is no false allegation aimed against any hon. Member whatsoever. If the issues of *Viduthalai* could be read by any one, one could clearly see that our expectation of a disturbance was clearly not wrong."

SRI S. B. ADITYAN:—"Sir, I should say that the *Viduthalai* did not say anything against the members of this House."

* THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI:—"I see. I am glad indeed that you have said that much. If the issue of *Viduthalai* says that there would be a demonstration by all interested parties but does not specify names of persons and calls upon all and sundry to pluck up courage to do or die, for 'human beings may die at six or hundred', are we to take it that the information is not in the form of a general appeal to one and all to demonstrate? If under the circumstances the Commissioner of Police, even though he may not have concrete information, but had sufficient information to apprehend a danger to peace, was he not under an obligation to prevent that danger from taking shape? Sir, there is nothing insulting about the order. If I said on printed paper that Mr. Adityan or X or Y proposed to make a demonstration in front of the Assembly or behind the Assembly to be heard by the Members assembled there when the Governor is to address, I see nothing insulting. It is ordinary though rough politics. In fact demonstrations are the very essence of opposition politics. Therefore, I submit, once more, that there is no *prima facie* case having been made out.

"Now the Governor had to address both Houses of Legislature at 5 p.m. on the 6th of May 1952. An hon. Member of this House

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who had been summoned by the Governor to attend the joint session chooses, either for private reasons or to justify his authority, to arrive at the outer gates of the Government Estate at five minutes to 5 p.m., when the Governor must have already arrived and been in the procession towards the Hall. If at that time after the order has been promulgated the constable sees a gentleman coming in and begins to question him, I see nothing unjust or unfair about it. The hon. gentleman says, 'I am an hon. Member of the Legislative Council.' In fact any one could say that to gain entry. So far as the constable was concerned he was doing his duty. No breach of privilege had been committed. If the hon. Member arrived at the gate just five minutes to 5 p.m. and complains that the Government ought to have issued him a pass, I may say, Sir, that if I had taken such a step, I might be considered to have committed a still more serious breach of privilege of hon. Members. They might say: 'When we have been summoned by His Excellency to hear his Address to both Houses of the Legislature, is it not insulting that we should obtain passes? Are we attending a drama paying for tickets?' Well, that is a debatable question. I leave it at that. Unfortunately mistakes do take place at times. But I maintain that it is perfectly easy for any hon. Member to impress by his behaviour his position when he is confronted by a constable or any public servant. Unfortunately Sir, when passions run high we do often forget what is taking place around. I am sure that if my hon. Friend Mr. Adityan had been a constable—I know his temperament to some extent—and had been stationed there, he would have acted more roughly than the constable; perhaps he would have been firm also and refused to yield to the Member's request.

"I am also a Member of this House. I was there before time. The Governor was to address both Houses of Legislature. It was not a business meeting. It was a meeting when His Excellency was to address the legislators, after having been conducted to the dais by the Hon. Speaker and the Hon. Chairman. At that time the hon. Member arrives at the gates, not the inner doorway of the Assembly Hall but the outer gates of Government Estate. It is a known fact that in and around the Assembly building there are a large number of completely built, partially built and incomplete houses. He would have taken more than ten minutes walking to cross all these from his starting point. I only request that no great fuss be made about this incident. I say this is nothing but a cover for the great breach of privilege that was made inside the hall.

"I therefore respectfully submit that there is absolutely no *prima facie* case made out. I may mention here Sir, that in the other House yesterday the Speaker gave a ruling that the allegations made were *prima facie* justified but the House rejected the motion. But here you have an independent right to sit in judgment and decide whether a *prima facie* case has been made out or not."

SRI C. RAJESWARA RAO :—"Mr. Chairman, first I did not like to speak on this occasion and waste time; but since the

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Hon. Chief Minister, Rajaji, has made certain allegations against the Communist Party and the United Democratic Front, I am constrained to reply. All these years the Communists were not allowed either inside the Assembly or outside to play their part as legislators. During the last five years only two Communist Members were in the previous Assembly and these two members were for some time in jail and they were not allowed to reply to the charges actually made against the Communists then. Actually the Congress Government in existence at that time were afraid to let the two Communist Members talk what they wanted to, in the Assembly Chamber. Now the insinuation has started again and yesterday, Rajaji has declared a war against the Communist Party. I am going to reply to those charges not now but some time afterwards. I want now to say only one thing. Rajaji and his Government are acting with prejudice against the Communists. At one time Rajaji has observed that we should act with commonsense. If Rajaji had thought that there was going to be a demonstration by the Members belonging to the United Democratic Front, then he ought to have consulted the legislators and found out whether that information was correct. He ought to have consulted the leader of the Communist Party as well as the leader of the United Democratic Front. Then of course he would have been provided with all the information he wanted to have. But, that was not done. In the circumstances, to make an insinuation that they have secretly decided on a demonstration, is not correct. I want to state, Sir, that no such decision was taken either by the Communist Party or by the United Democratic Front.

11-30 a.m. "Next, Sir, I want to state that my objection to the order under Section 144 is that it is political. Even from the commonsense point of view, especially when we are starting this Legislature on the basis of adult franchise and on the basis of the Republican Constitution, it is not a good augury to begin the Governor's Address with an order under section 144. It speaks ill of the Government to have begun the whole proceedings of the Legislature with an order under section 144. I beg Rajaji to act with commonsense, as he himself has been advising others to do, in respect of every problem that comes before him. Of course, if the House or the Government want a thing to be decided with commonsense, yes, we are ready and on behalf of the Communist Party, I state on the floor of this House, that I will be the first man, to act with commonsense. So, Sir, my objection to the promulgation of the order under section 144 is from the political and commonsense point of view."

* SRI S. B. ADITYAN :—"Sir, the only point now for decision is, not on the question of policy and not even in regard to the promulgation of the order under section 144. I am afraid, the Hon. the Chief Minister has thoroughly misunderstood me when I stated my objection to the order under section 144. The question of privilege I raise is based on the allegation of the Commissioner of Police contained in the preamble to the order. I say that it is a false and insulting allegation against the Members of

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the House, to say, that these Members have made certain decisions like that. I am not, of course, objecting here to the promulgation of the order, not even to the precautions which were taken.

“ Then, Sir, it is a travesty of facts and reasoning when the Hon. the Chief Minister says that for a function to commence at 5 o'clock, a Member who comes 5 minutes before 5 is late, and he is a late comer. It is really surprising.”

* SRI V. CHAKKARAI CHETTY :—“ Mr. Chairman, Sir, I have been listening with rapt attention to the speech of the Hon. the Chief Minister. I do not think that in my career of more than quarter of a century I have listened to a string of sophistries more calculated to mislead than those which our Hon. Chief Minister had the good fortune to indulge in.

“ Well, Sir, on the morning of the 6th when I read the Hindu where this order appeared, I was rather taken aback, for the simple reason that being a member of the United Democratic Front, I knew that at none of the meetings of the Democratic Front, was a resolution passed as alleged in the Police Commissioner's order. After all, the Police Commissioner acted not independently, but under instructions from the Chief Minister, and I believe, the Chief Minister, unfortunately for him, seems to have been misguided in this matter of the allegation that the United Democratic Front have resolved upon staging a demonstration of this kind. I agree with him that the staging of a demonstration is by no means a bad thing. He said that it might be a good thing. Well, Sir, the Chief Minister's memory has not become short during the last one month. Long, long ago, the Congress Party staged even worse demonstrations than the one which was alleged to have been contemplated by the Democratic Front. During the days of the Simon Commission, I remember what a huge demonstration was made, and I was happy over it, because it was a legitimate and constitutional right of a citizen to make a demonstration. But, this order goes on to say that in consequence of this demonstration, acts of violence and mischief are likely to take place. That is the gravamen of the charge against the United Democratic Front. Sir, I am a man of peace and I have never indulged in any acts of violence like some of my colleagues in those days. That is why I speak with a clear and a clean conscience about this matter. I would never have been a party to any act of violence and I would have been the first to voice my protest against any attempts to launch upon any acts of violence. Therefore, Sir, it is an insult and an insinuation against the Members of this House, responsible men, who have been elected to this House, to say that they have decided upon acts of violence. That is the reason why I was saying that the Hon. Chief Minister was acting under some evil genius in the matter of persuading his subordinate officer, the Commissioner of Police, to issue an order like that.

“ Sir, I am not here going to speak about the quality of the politics of the Chief Minister on this occasion. But I only wish to say this. If you believe, Sir, that a Member ought to have

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been present at the Chamber half an hour before the meeting began, and not to have done so was his fault and so the police officer came to challenge him, I would only say this, that the Chief Minister with his foresight and wisdom ought to have been able to foresee the consequences of the promulgation of such a very ill-conceived order as this. While inaugurating the first session of our Legislature, the promulgation of such an order imposed a burden upon the Members of this House and of the other House. He ought to have foreseen the consequences and that Members would be stopped at the gates. But, he said that he did not anticipate that the police officer would challenge the right of a Member. He did not anticipate that identity cards should be issued. He went on making all sorts of conjectures and all sorts of speculations. But, I wish to say this, Sir, that the Chief Minister who undertook to promulgate an order like this ought to have been good enough and wise enough to foresee the consequences that would have followed.

“ I do not believe that it is necessary for this Legislature, and the Members of this House, to be guarded and safeguarded by the inspiring presence of the police, even within the precincts of the Assembly or the Council or outside. We have only to take care of ourselves.

“ Sir, I have only one more remark which I wish to add before I sit down. A *prima facie* case has been made out, as the Hon. Speaker of the Assembly has pointed out. But the only thing that strikes me is this: this order was promulgated not to prevent violence, not to prevent molestation of the public, but only to safeguard the dignity of the Chief Minister and his Colleagues. It was not for our purpose; it may be for the purpose of safeguarding the dignity of the Governor; it was not for the purpose of safeguarding the interest of the public but for safeguarding the interests of the Ministers and for exalting the dignity of the Ministers by parading the policemen. In the guise of maintaining law and order, they have come forward to molest humble people like us going to the Legislature. Sir, could the Chief Minister say that as a member of the United Democratic Front I ever indulged in acts of violence? It seems to me to be a preposterous conclusion to arrive at. To add to this, he has supported his conclusion by a string of falsities and sophistries and says that this is no place for raising the question of privileges of Members of the House.

“ Mr. Chairman, I do not want to say anything by way of condemnation because as you know and as Rajaji knows, I have a great deal of respect for him and I have known him for a long time, but I am sorry to say that he has now got into a trap and it may be he will have more occasions to repent for the duties he has undertaken upon himself.”

SRI A. SUBRAMANIAM :—“ கனம் தலைவர் அவர்களே, கனம் அங்கத்தினர் எஸ். பி. ஆதித்தன் அவர்கள் இம்மாதம் 6-ம் தேதி சென்னை சட்டசபை முன்பாக சிறகில் இடங்களில் நடந்த சம்பவங்களைப் பற்றி இங்கே குறிப்பிட்டார். அவர் குறிப்பிட்டதை நான் அழுத்தந்திருத்ததாக கண்டித்து எதிர்க்கிறேன். ஏனென்றால் இந்தக் காலத்தில் ஜனநாயகம்

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நடைபெற்று வருகிறது. மக்களுக்கு எல்லா வகைகளிலும் சுதந்திரம் இருக்கிறது. அதிலும் குறிப்பாக ஒரு அளவிற்குத்தான் சுதந்திரம் இருக்கிறது. எந்த அளவிற்கு நமக்கு ஜனநாயகத்தில் பங்குண்டு என்பதை ஒவ்வொருவரும் உணர்ந்து கொள்ளவேண்டும். சிற்சில சமயங்களில் அதில் சிற்சிலர் தவறிவிடுகிறார்கள். ஒருவருக்கு ரோடில் தடியை சுழற்றிக்கொண்டு போவதற்கு உரிமை உண்டு. ஆனால் பிறர் தலை மீது அது படடால் தடியை சுழற்றுவதை நிறுத்திக் கொள்ளவேண்டும். பிறர் மேல் படும்படியும், மற்ற மனிதனுக்கு உபத்ரவம் உண்டு பண்ணுவதாக இருந்தாலும் தடியைச் சுழற்றுவதை நிறுத்திக் கொள்ளவேண்டும். இதைக் கூட ஒரு சில முக்யஸ்தர்களும், அறிவாளிகளும் உணர்ந்து கொள்ளவில்லை.

“அது போன்று பத்திரிகைகள் என்பது எல்லோருக்கும் பொதுவானது. பத்திரிகைகளில் எழுதும் விஷயங்கள் எல்லோருக்கும், குறிப்பாக இந்த மாகாணத்திலுள்ள மக்களின் நலன்களைக் குறிக்கவேண்டும். மக்களுக்கு பாதகம் ஏற்படாவண்ணம் குறிப்பிடப்பட வேண்டும். அப்படி சில பத்திரிகைகள் செய்வதில்லை. இம்மாகாணத்திலுள்ள சில பத்திரிகைகள் இப்பொழுது அவ்விதம் நல்ல முறையில் எழுதுவதில்லை. அரசாட்சியை குறைகூறிக்கொண்டே எழுதி வருகின்றன. சென்னையில் ராஜாஜி அரசாட்சி ஏற்பட்டிலிருந்து சில பத்திரிகைகள் தங்களுடைய பொறுப்பை உணராமல் தாறுமாறாக நடந்து கொண்டுவருகின்றன. சில சமயங்களில் அவ்விதம் மக்களிடையே வீழ்ச்சி ஏற்படும்படி எழுதுவதற்கு சில சட்டசபை அங்கத்தினர்களும், சில பத்திரிகை ஆசிரியர்களும், சில கட்சிகளின் அங்கத்தினர்களும் தான் காரணம் என்பதை நான் பட்சபாதம் இல்லாமல் நியாயமான முறையில் இந்த சட்டசபையில் குறிப்பிட முடியும். அவைகள் என்னவென்றும் கேட்கலாம். கடைசி வாரங்களில் வெளிவந்த விடுதலைப் பத்திரிகைகளைப் பார்த்தேன். தினத் தந்தியையும் பார்த்தேன். அவைகள் ரொம்பவும் கண்ணியக் குறைவாகவும் அங்கத்தினர்களை தாறுமாறாகவும், கனம் மந்திரி மாணிக்கவேலு நாயகரைப் பற்றி தாறுமாறாகவும், ‘எழுமின், காரி உமிழங்கள், துரோகி’ என்றும் எழுதி வந்திருக்கின்றன. கருப்புக் கொடியை பிடியுங்கள் என்று திராவிடக் கழகமும், திராவிட முன்னேற்ற கழகமும் கூறி வருகின்றன. இன்றைய தினப் பத்திரிகையைப் பார்த்தாலும் தெரிய வரும்”

SRI S. B. ADITYAN :—“On a point of order, Mr. Chairman. The hon. Member is talking about the Dravida Kazhagam and Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam about whom and their actions we are not discussing to-day.”

SRI A. SUBRAMANIAM :—“அந்தப் பத்திரிகையை நடத்துபவர் இங்கு அங்கத்தினராக இருப்பதால் நான் இந்த விஷயங்களை இப்பொழுது குறிப்பிடுகிறேன் என்பதை கனம் தலைவர் அவர்களுக்கு தெரிவித்துக் கொள்ளுகிறேன். இந்த நிலைமையில் கனம் மந்திரி மாணிக்கவேலு நாயகரைப் பற்றியும் தாறுமாறாக எழுதியிருக்கிறது. கனம் மாணிக்கவேலு நாயகருக்கு கொடும்பாவி கட்டி இழுக்க வேண்டுமென்றும் பத்திரிகைகளில் எழுதி இருக்கின்றன. அதிலும் குறிப்பாக தினத்தந்தி அவரை எதிர்த்து தாறுமாறாக எழுதியிருக்கிறது. அந்தப் பத்திரிகைக்கு இந்த அங்கத்தினர் சம்பந்தப்பட்டிருப்பதால் வேறு அத்தாட்சி தேவை இல்லை.”

SRI S. B. ADITYAN :—“The hon. Member is making certain 11-45 allegations which are not correct. I am not the editor of the *a.m.* newspaper that he is referring to and moreover such allegations are irrelevant.”

MR. CHAIRMAN :—“Let the hon. Member confine himself to facts.”

SRI A. SUBRAMANIAM :—“நான் உண்மையைத்தான் சொல்லுகிறேன். உண்மையை ஒளிக்கவுமில்லை, அதிகப்படுத்தியும் கூறவில்லை.

[Sri A. Subramaniam]

[10th May 1952]

இந்தச் சந்தர்ப்பத்தில் அந்தப் பத்திரிகையை இங்கு கொண்டு வரவில்லை. சந்தர்ப்பம் வரும்பொழுது அந்தப் பத்திரிகையைக் கொண்டு வந்து தங்கள் முன்பு வைக்கிறேன். கனம் மந்திரியைப்பற்றி பகிரங்கமாக வெளிப்படுத்தி இருப்பதை எடுத்துக்காட்ட மற்றொரு சமயம் அவகாசம் இருக்கிறது. அப்பொழுது அதைக் காட்டுகிறேன். இம்மாதிரியாக தாறுமாறாக எழுதி சர்க்காருக்கு எதிராக கிளர்ச்சி செய்ய ஒரு சிலரை தூண்டவும், சில பத்திரிகைகள் விஷயங்களை வெளிப்படுத்தியிருப்பதால் அவைகளைத் தடுக்க இம்மாதிரியான குறிப்பிட்ட 144 உத்தரவை அரசாங்கம் போட்டிருப்பது ரொம்பவும் நியாயமானது. அதற்கும் வேண்டுமென்றால் சட்ட திட்டத்தில் ஆதாரம் இருக்கிறது. இந்த மாதிரியான எண்ணமுள்ள சில அங்கத்தினர்கள் இருக்கும்பொழுது 144 போடுவதால் உரிமை பறிபோகிறது என்று சொல்வது யாரும் ஒத்துக்கொள்ளக் கூடியதல்ல. கனம் மாணிக்கவேலு நாயகருக்கு கொடும்பாவி கட்டி இழுக்க வேண்டுமென்று பிரசாரம் செய்வது சரியா? அவர் ஒரு பொறுப்புள்ள அரசாங்கத்தில் இருக்கிறார் அல்லவா? ஜனநாயக அரசாங்கத்தில் அவர் ஒரு பெரிய பதவி வகிக்கிறார். அவர் ஏதாவது தவறு செய்திருந்தால் அவரை தேர்தலில் பார்த்துக்கொள்ள வேண்டும். அவரை தேர்தலில் விடுங்கள் என்று சவால் விட்டார்கள். நன்றாகப் பாருங்கள். ஒரு சில மந்திரிகள் போன தேர்தலில் தோற்றார்கள் என்றால் அவர்கள் கொள்கைகளில் மாறினார்கள். பொது ஜனங்களுக்கு நன்மை செய்யத் தவறிவிட்டார்கள். அவ்விதம் கனம் மாணிக்கவேலு நாயகர் அவர்கள் தவறுதலாக நடந்தால் மறு தேர்தலில் பார்த்துக்கொள்ளலாமே?

“இப்பொழுதிருக்கும் நிலைமையில் கனம் ராஜாஜி அவர்கள் செய்த காரியம் நியாயமானது. அவரிடம் பொது ஜனங்கள் அவ்வளவு பேரும் அன்பு செலுத்துகிறார்கள். அவருடைய ஆட்சியை வரவேற்கிறார்கள். அவருக்கு எதிர்ப்பு கூடாது என்றும் சொல்லுகிறார்கள்.

“இன்று அவரை எதிர்க்க வேண்டுமென்று கருப்புக் கொடி காட்டியவர்களையும், கொடும்பாவி கட்டி இழுக்கப் போகிறோம் என்று சொன்னவர்களையும் எதிர்த்துப் போராடப் போகிறோம் என்று ஜனங்கள் சொன்னதால்தான் இந்த உத்தரவு போட்டார்கள். சென்னையில் அவர்களை எதிர்க்க லட்சக்கணக்கான ஜனங்கள் தயாராக இருக்கிறார்கள். அவர்கள் எரிடத்தில் அவ்வாறு செய்யவேண்டாமென்று நாங்கள் கேட்டுக்கொண்டோம். அவர்களும் அதற்கு இணங்குகிறார்கள். அதனால் ஏதாவது விபரீதங்கள் ஏற்படாமலிருக்கும் பொருட்டும், யாதொரு பங்கமும் ஏற்படாமலிருக்கும் பொருட்டும் அதற்காக இரு கட்சிகாரர்களுக்கும் பொதுவாக 144 உத்தரவு போட்டதும் நியாயமானது. யாராயிருந்தாலும் தவறு செய்கிறவர்களைத் தடுப்பதற்கு அரசாங்கத்திற்கு சந்தர்ப்பம் இருக்கிறது. நியாயம் இருக்கிறது. ஆகவே எதிர்ப்புக் கூட்டங்கள் கூடாது. தடியை சுழற்றிக்கொண்டு பிறருக்கு உபத்தேயம் செய்ய வேண்டாம் என்பதற்காகத்தான் 144 உத்தரவு போடப்பட்டது. இதை எதிர்க்க பொது ஜனங்கள் கூடிக்கொண்டு லட்சக் கணக்கான மக்கள் திரண்டு வந்து யாதொரு நிகழ்ச்சியும் நடக்கக்கூடாது என்பதற்காகவேதான் தடை செய்தார்கள். ஆகவே ஜனங்களுடைய எழுச்சி அதிகமாக இருந்து கொண்டிருக்கிறது. இவ்வித நிலைமையில் போலீசார் சாதாரணமாக எடுத்துக் கொள்ளவேண்டிய நடவடிக்கையைத் தான் எடுத்துக் கொண்டிருக்கிறார்கள். கூடுமான வரையில் அங்கத்தினர்களுக்கும் பொது ஜனங்களுக்கும் பாதகம் ஏற்படாத வரையில் அன்று அவர்கள் நடந்து கொண்டிருக்கிறார்கள். ஏதோ ஒரு சம்பவம் நடந்திருக்கிறது. அதற்காக வருத்தப்படுகிறோம். அந்த உத்தரவினால் சலுகை குறைந்து விட்டது என்பது அர்த்தமல்ல. ஒவ்வொருவருக்கும் உரிமை உண்டு. எப்படி நடந்துகொள்ள வேண்டுமோ அவ்விதம் நடந்து கொள்வதற்கு உரிமை இருக்கிறது. ஆனால் பிறரை பாதிக்கும்படியாக நடந்து கொள்ளக்கூடாது. பொது மக்களுக்கு பாதகம் செய்யக்கூடாது என்பதை தெரிவித்துக்கொண்டு நான் கனம் எஸ். பி. ஆதித்தன் கொண்டு வந்த பிரேரணையை எதிர்க்கிறேன்.”

* SRI B. V. SUBRAHMANYAM :—“ Mr. Chairman, Sir, I must confess that when I came here this morning I had no intention of speaking on this subject. But when I heard the Hon. Chief

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Minister this morning, it struck me that as one who is not in the counsels of the party which, as the Government, passed the order under section 144, nor in the counsels of the United Democratic Front or the Communist Party about which we have heard something, I was in a better position to offer my views on this subject. The Hon. Chief Minister says that no *prima facie* case has been made out, and this he says without making an enquiry into the allegations of the hon. Members of this House about the action of the Police. No enquiry has been made into these allegations. If an enquiry had been conducted and these allegations were proved to be incorrect, then it is all right. That has not been done. The very action of the Police just outside the Assembly Chamber where the hon. Members of this House and the other House were to meet was indicative of what would happen or rather must have happened because of the promulgation of the section 144 order under the orders of the Government. It seems to me most childish and puerile and unworthy of anybody who can call himself a statesman of some worth if he were to say that no *prima facie* case has been made out in this case. As far as the privileges of the Members of this House are concerned, the House is not the Congress Party or the Communist Party or the United Democratic Front or any other party. It is entirely itself. It has a separate entity. The privilege of every single Member of this House should be safeguarded and protected, and nobody should be allowed to interfere with the privileges of the hon. Members of the House. In this particular case, there is absolutely no meaning in saying that no *prima facie* case has been made out. If the Hon. Chief Minister who has had training in law were to say that no *prima facie* case has been made out in this instance, then it is unworthy of that training. By his argument he has attempted to establish that no case has been made out for investigating whether the privileges of the hon. Members of the House were infringed or not. He seems to think that he is the final arbiter in all these matters. We cannot have the rights of hon. Members staked on the opinion of one man or of one party or of the Government. I trust that you, Sir, as Chairman of the House and as the guardian of the privileges of the hon. Members of the House, will not allow yourself to be placed in the hands of the Government or in the hands of that party which only thinks of itself and not of the whole House."

* THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—" Mr. Chairman, I did not wish to interrupt at this stage of the discussion. But I have to interrupt as the last speaker made a very objectionable remark in his speech by almost threatening you with a charge of partiality if you gave your decision in one way. I am afraid that the hon. Member has not weighed his words in that respect. I only wish to point out that the discussion on this point has been too long or rather longer than necessary. I think, it is only your ruling that is to be sought for now.

" After hearing my old friend Sri Chakkarai Chetti, I thought that I omitted one point and I now wish to supplement my speech with a few words on that point. The argument that the statement contained in the latter part of the order of the Commissioner of Police relating to the disturbance of public tranquillity and breach

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of peace should be understood to be breach of peace on the part of the Members referred to in the earlier part of the order is not correct. Even in an ordinary case where a particular thing has been done and there was a likelihood of the peace being disturbed, we must interpret it in this way only, namely, that as certain things were done and as certain other consequences would follow resulting in the disturbance of the peace, necessary action should be taken to prevent such a thing from happening. Whatever may be the point, it is not right to interpret the order in any other manner. A proper reading of the order will give the plain meaning. I do not wish to accept a wrong interpretation.

"I have once again to refer to the speech of the hon. Member Sri B. V. Subrahmanyam who spoke last. He appeared to quote my arguments. But I am afraid that his quotation was much longer than the original itself. I did not say all that he said. Hon. Members of the House have heard what I have said. The only point is this. If a certain step is taken by the Commissioner of Police for preventing certain things from happening, the information that he had and the reason for his taking such action have to be mentioned in the order according to the Act under which he is operating. Whether his information is correct or not is not a matter for us. It is a matter for the tribunal which has jurisdiction to review such orders. To say that certain information given to the Commissioner of Police is not right and so the whole thing should be treated as a breach of privilege and a Committee should enquire into the matter is something like assuming that we have become, so to say, a High Court, and more than that, a High Court attempting to try even original cases in regard to such matters. I submit that it is wrong to take such a view. The issue before the House is a very simple one. All that has to be decided is whether there is a *prima facie* case for considering this as a breach of privilege. I submit that there is no *prima facie* case."

MR. CHAIRMAN :—"I have listened to the speeches of the hon. Members.

(At this stage an hon. Member stood up and wanted to speak.)

"The hon. Member may resume his seat. When the Chair is on its legs, no hon. Member should stand. I am not going to permit any more speeches. As a matter of fact, many hon. Members have spoken.

"On receipt of the motion from the hon. Member Sri S. B. Adityan, I have given my very careful consideration to the question and I am convinced that the promulgation of the order under section 144 was necessary for protecting the whole House as well as the public. I am confident that the ruling that I am going to give is an independent ruling. It has been mentioned that in the other House a similar motion was allowed. But I would like to mention here that I am not guided by the rulings given in the other House. I am entitled to come to my own independent decision. I feel that no *prima facie* case has been made out. So, I rule the motion out of order.

"Now, let us proceed to the next item on the agenda, namely, 'Discussion on His Excellency the Governor's Address'."

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II.—DISCUSSION ON HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR'S ADDRESS.

SRI V. CHAKKARAI CHETTY :—“ Is there any time limit for the speakers? ”

MR. CHAIRMAN :—“ I am not fixing any time limit. But I would ask hon. Members to be as brief as possible.”

SRI M. SITHARAMA DASS :—“ Mr. Chairman, Sir, I move the following motion standing in my name, namely :—

‘ That an humble Address be presented to His Excellency the Governor that the Members of the Madras Legislative Council thank His Excellency for the Address delivered to the Members of the Legislature on the 6th of May.’

“ I take this opportunity of moving this motion before this hon. House. I am glad to say that the people of our State are very much obliged to His Excellency and his Government for the timely measures taken for famine relief in the affected areas. His Excellency has made personal visits to the famine-stricken areas immediately after assuming office and he has had first-hand information of the conditions prevailing there.”

SRI S. B. ADITYAN :—“ On a point of order, Sir, is it in order for the hon. Member to read his speech? ”

MR. CHAIRMAN :—“ I have permitted the hon. Member to read his speech.”

SRI M. SITHARAMA DASS :—“ His Excellency and his Government have done all that lies in their power and resources for famine relief in the affected areas.

“ Further I bring to the notice of this hon. House that His Excellency and his Government have rendered timely help to the agricultural community of the State by increasing the price of paddy by Re. 1 per maund without affecting the consumer's price. This measure and the present food policy of His Excellency's Government will give greater impetus to food production. Under His Excellency's Government the ryot community which is the back bone of the State may be satisfied as it is getting reasonable prices for its produce. I am emboldened to make this statement with some authority as I myself belong to the ryot community. The present Government of His Excellency has also taken some measures to help the weaver community. His Excellency and his Government have recognized the importance of the handloom industry in this State and proper measures are being taken for the relief and uplift of its members. This hon. House is very much obliged to His Excellency and his Government for the measures and relief works that have been undertaken as mentioned in His Excellency's Address. We are also happy to note the sympathy of His Excellency and his unmistakable desire to help the people of this great State. We are confident that His Excellency with his

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wide political and administrative experience, his ability to meet any difficult situation and his practical approach to problems will help the people of our State.

"I am confident that Rajaji as the Chief Minister of the State with his ripe experience and ability in administration will administer the State in such a way as to make the people of the State contented and happy. Rajaji, the leader of this hon. House and the leader of our party is a great thinker among the leaders of our time with a well-balanced mind and he always takes a comprehensive view of things. His views are all based on wide learning and observation and are the result of mature reflection. Hence we are very happy to have him as our Chief Minister to steer our State safely through all troubles and difficulties.

"I hope that he would take a comprehensive view of things with his wide learning and observation and thus serve the State in its best interests. I request this hon. House to unanimously accept this motion.

"Sir, I would like to say a few words now in Telugu.

"Mr. Chairman and Hon. Members, ఇప్పుడు మన Hindu State లో నూతన రాజ్యాంగం ప్రకారం"

SRI M. P. GOVINDA MENON :—"On a point of order, Sir, is a Member entitled to speak in more languages than one in the course of the same speech?"

SRI C. RAJESWARA RAO :—"I want to raise a point of order. The hon. Member used the words 'Hindu State'. Is he right in saying so?"

SRI M. SITHARAMA DASS :—"I meant the Indian Union.

"స్వతంత్ర భారతదేశం Republic India లో నూతన రాజ్యాంగం ప్రకారము తొలిసారిగా మన మదరాసు రాష్ట్రములో క్రొత్తగా ఏర్పడిన ఉభయ శాసన సభల యొక్క సభ్యులను దేఖించి గవర్నరుగారు ప్రసంగించినందుకు, ఈ శుభ తరుణమున వారికి కృతజ్ఞ శాభివందనలు లిప్పించుట ప్రజల యొక్కయు, శాసన సభ్యుల యొక్కయు, అలాగా ఈ రెజిస్ట్రేట్ కౌన్సిల్ సభ్యులైన మన ఆందరి యొక్కయు, వాఙ్మత అని చెప్పక తప్పదు. గవర్నరుగారి అడ్డమనుగురించి ఈ సభలో చర్చించబడుచున్న ఈ సమయమున నేను సోదర సభ్యులందరికి ప్రస్తుత గవర్నరుగారిని గురించి, ప్రభుత్వాన్ని గురించి కొంత మనోచేయుచున్నాను. ఇప్పుడు మన రాష్ట్రానికి గవర్నరుగా వచ్చినటువంటి శ్రీ ప్రకాశగారు ఎక్కడినుండియో ఒక విదేశమునుండి వచ్చినవారగుదు. వారు మన దేశపు వారే. మన దేశాని అనేక విధముల నేనచేసి ఇండియన్ యూనియన్ లో గొప్ప అనుభవమును సంపాదించినటువంటివారు. అటువంటి వారు ఇప్పుడు నూతన రాజ్యాంగములో ప్రథమంగా మనకు గవర్నరుగా వచ్చినందుకు మనము చాలా అదృష్టవంతులమని అనుకోక తప్పదు. కనుక అటువంటి గవర్నరుగారు ఇప్పుడు మన నూతన శాసన సభలకు ఇచ్చినటువంటి address ను గురించి ఎవరుగాని ఏమి సంకోచించక, విమర్శించక, వారికి కృతజ్ఞాభివందనలు లిప్పించు ఈ తీర్మానాన్ని సోదర సభ్యులందరు ఏకగ్రీవంగా (unanimous) గా ఆమోదించవలెనని కోరుచున్నాను. ఇంతేకాదు, ఇప్పుడు మనకు ముఖ్య మంత్రిగా వచ్చినటువంటి శ్రీమాన్ రాజగోపాలాచారి

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గారు కూడా రాజ్యాంగ విధానములో గొప్ప అనుభవము కలిగినవారని అందరికీ తెలిసిన విషయమే. వీరున్నా గవర్నరు శ్రీ ప్రకాశగారున్నా, వీరుభయములు ఒకానొకప్పుడు కేంద్ర ప్రభుత్వము (Central Government) లో మంత్రులుగా (colleagues) గా ఉండి ఎక్కువ అనుభవాన్ని గడించినటువంటివారు. అటువంటి వీరువురును నూతన రాజ్యాంగములో మన రాష్ట్రానికి ఒకరు గవర్నరుగాను, మరొకరు ముఖ్య మంత్రిగాను రావడమంటే ఇండియన్ యూనియన్ లోని అన్ని రాష్ట్రాలకంటే మన మదరాసు రాష్ట్రము అద్భుతమైనదని చెప్పక తప్పదు. ఇది మనమందరికీ గర్వించదగినటువంటి విషయము. ఇట్టి సందర్భములో, మొన్నటి దినము అసెంబ్లీలో గవర్నరుగారు ఉభయ శాసన సభలను addresses చేయవలయును, కొందరు సభ్యులు 'walk out' చేసినటువంటి విషయాన్ని ఆలోచించినట్లయితే, ఇది మదరాసు రాష్ట్ర ప్రజలకు చాలా విచారము కలుగజేస్తున్నదని చెప్పవచ్చును. ప్రజాస్వామ్యానికి, మేలు కలుగజేసేందుకు, పట్టుబట్టిన ఆభివృద్ధిరచేందుకుగాను, ప్రభుత్వముతో సహకరించి, వారికి తగిన సలహాలిచ్చి, సంపత్తినించేసి సక్రమ పరిపాలన తోడ్పడే నిమిత్తం ప్రజలు మనలను శాసన సభలకు కుంగియుండిగా, అందుకు కృషిచేయుటకు బదులు, గవర్నరుగారు ప్రసంగించేటువంటి ముఖ్యసందర్భంలో సభనుండి 'walk out' చేయుట సభ్యులు చేయవలసిన పనియో అని చాలా విచారకరంగాయ్యెది. అద్భుతవశాత్తు, నేడు మనకు పరిపాలనా విధానంలో గొప్ప అనుభవాన్ని గడించినటువంటి శ్రీ ప్రకాశగారు గవర్నరుగానున్న, శ్రీమాన్ రాజగోపాలాచారిగారు ముఖ్య మంత్రిగానున్న వచ్చి వారి వల్ల రాష్ట్రానికప్పుడై ఎంతో అవకాశమున్న ఈ మంచి తరుణంలో ప్రభుత్వంతో సహకరించి, వారితో తగిన సలహా సంపత్తినించేసి, ప్రజాస్వామ్యానుగుణంగా ప్రవర్తించునూ, సక్రమ పరిపాలనకు దోహదమొసంగుట సభ్యుల కిర్త్యమైయుండగా, దానికి వ్యతిరేకంగా, ప్రభుత్వానికి అనేక విధములైన అటంకములు కల్పించినట్లయితే, సుస్థిర ప్రభుత్వం ఎట్లు ఏర్పడగలదో, రాష్ట్రములోని ప్రముఖ దుస్సర పరిస్థితులెట్లు నివారించ వీలగునో ఆలోచించవలసియున్నది. కనుక, సుస్థిర ప్రభుత్వం ఏర్పడి రాష్ట్రము అభివృద్ధి పొందవలెనంటే శ్రీ ప్రకాశగారు గవర్నరుగాను, శ్రీమాన్ రాజగోపాలాచారిగారు ముఖ్య మంత్రిగాను ఉన్న ఈ సదవకాశాన్ని పోగొట్టుకొని, వీరి ప్రభుత్వముతో అన్ని విధముల సహకరించి, సక్రమ పరిపాలన తోడ్పడే నిమిత్తం వీరి రుచియందు సంపూర్ణ సమ్మతముంచి గవర్నరుగారు చేసినటువంటి ప్రసంగాన్ని గురించి ఏమియు సంకోచించక, విమర్శించక, వారికి మన కృతజ్ఞతాభివందనములర్పించు ఈ తీర్మానాన్ని అందరు వికగ్రీవంగా ఆమోదించవలెనని కోరుచున్నాను. ఈ సందర్భమున మనము ఇంకొక విషయాన్ని గమనించవలసియున్నది. మనదేశంలో ఇప్పుడేర్పడినటువంటి మార్పు, అనగా స్వాతంత్ర్యం సంపాదించిన తరువాత నూతన రాజ్యాంగం ప్రకారం స్థిర ప్రజాస్వామిక ప్రభుత్వం నెలకొల్పే నిమిత్తం వయోజన వోటింగు పద్ధతిన కొత్తగా శాసన సభలు ఏర్పడినటువంటి ఈ సమయం ఒక గొప్ప చరిత్రాత్మకమైనటువంటిదని చెప్పక తప్పదు. ఇటువంటి చరిత్రాత్మక సమయంలో శాసన సభకు గవర్నరుగారు చేసిన address ను గురించిస్తే, శాసన సభలయొక్క ప్రవర్తన, చర్యలు గురించిస్తే ఉత్తర్రోతా ప్రజలు, రాబోయే శాసన సభ్యులు చెప్పుకొంటూ యుంటారు. కాబట్టి మనము నడచుకొనేటువంటి పద్ధతులు, ప్రజలకును రాబోయే శాసన సభ్యులకునూ ఆవర్ణపాయంగా ఉండవలెనని విషయము అందరు గమనించవలసియుంటుందని కోరుచున్నాను.

“ మహాత్మాజీగారు ఎన్నో సంవత్సరాలు తపస్సుచేసి, ఎన్నో సత్యాగ్రహాలుచేసి, వారి జీవితాన్ని త్యాగంచేసి ఎంతో కష్టపడి సంపాదించినటువంటి ఈ స్వాతంత్ర్యాన్ని

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మనమందరము ఒకరికొకరు సహకరించుకొనక నిలుపుకొనలేకపోతే, ప్రజలు ఉత్తర్రోత్రా మనలను ఎంత నిందిస్తారో, ఎంత హేళనగా భావిస్తారో అలోచించుకొనవలసియున్నది.

“నిన్న నే నేను పశ్చిమ గోదావరి జిల్లా వెళ్లి వచ్చాను. అనగా, 8 వ తేది అప్పటికి వెళ్లి 9 వ తేది రాత్రి ఇప్పటికి వచ్చాను. మొన్న అనెంబ్లీలో కొందరి సభ్యులు walk out చేసిన విషయాన్ని గురించి అక్కడ ప్రజలు చాలా నిందిస్తున్నారు. ప్రభుత్వముతో సహకరించి, సక్రమ పరిచాలనకు తోడ్పడి ప్రజలకు, రాష్ట్రానికి మేలు చేయుటకు బదులు ఈ మాదిరి walk out చేస్తూ ప్రభుత్వానికి అనేక విధములైన అటంకములు కలుగజేయడానికా వారిని శాస్త్రసభకు పంపినది అని అక్కడ ప్రజలు నిందిస్తూండగా నేను విని చాలా విచారపడినాను. కనుక ప్రజల నిందలకు చోటివ్వకుండా సభ్యులందరు ప్రభుత్వముతో సహకరించి ప్రజాభివృద్ధికి, రాష్ట్రాభివృద్ధికి తోడ్పడినప్పుడే వారి కర్తవ్యము నెరవేర్చినవారగుదురని మనవి చేయచున్నాను. ఇప్పుడు ముం రాష్ట్రానికి, శ్రీహరి రాజగోపాల చారిగారు చీఫ్ మినిష్టరుగా ఉండడం, శ్రీ ప్రకాశగారు గవర్నరుగా ఉండడం అనేది మన కి.తో ఆదృష్టం. ఈ ఉభయుల కలయిక చాలా కొద్దు కలయిక. ఇది మన రాష్ట్రానికి అదృష్టము, కనుక ‘Madras is a very very fortunate State’ అనుకొని, వారి విధానాలను విమర్శము సంకోచించక గవర్నరుగారికి వారి ప్రసంగం పట్టి కృతజ్ఞతాభివందనము లర్పించు ఈ తీర్మానాన్ని సభ్యులందరు వికగ్రీవంగా ఆమోదించవలెనని కోరుతున్నాను. అసలు, శ్రీ ప్రకాశగారు ఇక్కడికి గవర్నరుగా వచ్చి సరిగా రెండు నెలలైనా కాలేదు. మరియు రాజగోపాలచారిగారు కూడా శీఫ్ మినిష్టరుగా వచ్చి ఒక నెలరోజులే అయినది. కాని ఈ స్వల్పకాలములోనే వారు ప్రజలకు ఎంతో మేలు చేశారు. రాయల సీమ కర్రు నివారణార్థమే, భగవంతునిచే సృష్టించడమే ఇక్కడికి పంపబడినారా, అన్నట్లు వారు ఈ విషయ కర్తవ్య శిరస్థితులలో వారు ఇక్కడికి వచ్చి ఇంత స్వల్ప కాలములోనే అనేక కరువు నివారణచర్యలు తీసుకొని కరువును చాలావరకు తొలగించినారని చెప్పక తప్పదు. వీరు భయము గనుక రాకుండా ఇంకే ప్రభుత్వమైనా గాని చ్చియుంకినట్లయితే, ఇంత కొందరగా చర్యలు తీసుకొని కరువు నివారించి యుండరు. వీరు ప్రభుత్వమునకు వచ్చిన వెంటనే ఔషధ శిరస్థితులన్నియు పరిశీలించి ఎక, డెక్కడ ఏ ఏ సౌకర్యాలు అవసరమో అవి కల్పించినారు. నీటికర్రు నివారణకై బావులు ద్రవ్వించడం, రోగ నివారణకై వైద్య సదుపాయాలు కల్పించడం, అనేకచోట్ల గంజీకొదాలు నిర్మించడం, ఆహారపదార్థాలు సక్లయిచేయడం, మొదలగు సహాయాన్ని ప్రజలకు యిచ్చి కరువు నివారించగలిగినారు. మరియు రైతులకు గూడా చాలా సహాయముచేసినారు. భాస్కరనేకరణ భర మణుగు ఒకటింటికి ఒక కూపాయపంతున పెంచి రైతు లోకాన్ని ఉల్లాసపరుచినారు. అందుకు రైతుల తరఫున ప్రభుత్వమువారిని కొనియాడుచున్నాను. ఇంతే కాకుండా, ఈ రెండు మాసాలలో గవర్నరుగారున్న, ప్రభుత్వమువారున్న ప్రజానీకానికి చేసినటువంటి అనేకవిధములైన ఉపయోగకరమైన చర్యలు గురించి మనము, ప్రజలు, ప్రతివారు కొనియాడక తప్పదు. ఇంత స్వల్పకాలములో ప్రజానీకానికి ఇన్ని ఉపకారాలు చేసినటువంటి ప్రభుత్వమును మనము పూర్తిగా నమ్మవలసియుండును. శ్రీ ప్రకాశగారు, శ్రీ రాజగోపాలచారిగారు, వీరు భయము ప్రజానేవారికే వుట్టి, ప్రజానేవారికే పెరిగి ప్రజానేవారికే సదా తహతహ లాడుతుంటే, వీరిని, వీరి ప్రభుత్వాన్ని సంకోచించడ మంటే, అంతకంటే విచారకరమైన విషయంలేదు. కనుక శాస్త్ర సభ్యులు తమ కర్తవ్యాని నెరవేర్చాలంటే ప్రజాభివృద్ధియానుగుణంగా వీరి రుక్తులతోను సలహా సంప్రదింపులు చేసి వారి సక్రిమపరిచాలనకు తోడ్పడవలెని కోరుతున్నాను.

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“అంతే కాకుండా కొద్దిరోజులలో ఈ ప్రభుత్వమువారున్న, గవర్నరుగారున్న కలిసి ఒక పంచవర్ష ప్రణాళిక తయారుచేయబోతున్నారు. ఈ ప్రణాళిక ఏ విధంగా అయితే ప్రజాసేవకును, గ్రామసేవకును ఎక్కువ ఉపకరిస్తుందో, ఆ విధంగా ప్రణాళిక ప్రాయానుగుణంగా ఉండేట్లు ప్రభుత్వముతో సహకరించి వారితో తగిన సలహా సంప్రదింపులుచేసి, ఈ పంచవర్ష ప్రణాళిక ఒక మంచిప్రణాళికగా తయారుచేసి దీని ద్వారా ప్రజలను మెప్పించి వారి కష్టాలను తీర్చడానికాను ఈ కృషిలో రాజాజీ ప్రభుత్వమునకు తోడ్పడి, ఈ ప్రణాళికను జయప్రదంగా చేసినట్లయితే ప్రజానీక మునకు చాలా సుఖంగా ఉంటుంది. లేకపోయిన యెడల ప్రజలు మనలను, ప్రభుత్వ మును హేళనగా భావిస్తారు. కనుక ప్రభుత్వానికి మనము తగిన సహకారాన్ని ఇచ్చి తోడ్పడవలసి యుంటుంది. అందుచేత సోదర సభ్యులందరును గవర్నరుగారి ఆద్య సుకు కృతజ్ఞతాభివందనము లర్పించు ఈ తీర్మానాన్ని unanimous గా ఆమోదించ వలెనని వరొకసారి కోరుతున్నాను. I once more request the hon. Mem. bers to accept this motion unanimously.”

* SRI E. H. PARAMESWARAN :—“ Mr. Chairman, Sir, I consider it a great privilege to second the Motion of Thanks to His Excellency the Governor for his Address to the joint session of the Legislature on the 6th of May. As I said the other day, the constitution of this new Legislative Council is different from that of the old Legislative Council and we are meeting for the first time under the new Constitution. I, therefore, consider it a great privilege to second the Motion of Thanks.

“ On a perusal of His Excellency's Address and a review of the several activities of the Government during the last month, I feel that we have every reason to congratulate the Government. His Excellency, in the course of his Address, first made a reference to the general elections and referred to the assurances given by his illustrious predecessor. We are very glad that the general elections took place in a peaceful and orderly way in this country. We have every reason to congratulate the Government, the election officers and the millions of voters in this country on conducting the elections in an exemplary manner. For the first time, adult franchise was introduced and an experiment, quite unprecedented in the history of the world, was tried with regard to a large number of voters. We are very glad that everything went off well and the elections were conducted in an impartial and fair manner.

“ His Excellency also referred to the famine conditions in Rayalaseema and some parts of other districts and the measures taken by the Government to relieve the sufferings of the people in the famine-stricken areas. We are very thankful to His Excellency and His Excellency's Government for the speedy and prompt measures taken by the Government to alleviate the sufferings of the people. We all know that His Excellency, soon after assuming his exalted office, made a personal tour of the famine-affected areas and his inspiring example has been followed by the officers of the Government. We feel very happy that His Excellency, the Hon. Ministers and the officers of the Government have been doing everything humanly possible to alleviate the sufferings of the

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people. We are sure that the cumulative efforts of the Government and the non-official agencies will help us to tide over the crisis. We are very grateful, in this connexion, to the Government of India, for giving accommodation to this Government to the extent of two crores of rupees and also making a free gift of 48 lakhs of rupees for running gruel centres. We hope, Sir, that the combined efforts of so many voluntary organizations and the officers of the Government will help us to tide over the crisis.

12-15 P.M. "Many Members have taken exception to the very short Address, particularly, to the fact that it did not contain any statement of policy. I remember, Sir, that in the last Assembly or the last Council so many hon. Members took exception to the very long Address of the Governor and they criticised the Address because it contained too many points and it was very, very long. Now the Address is probably short because this Government took charge only a few days ago.

"His Excellency made a reference to the food problem though his Address did not contain specific plans for the Government to solve the problem of food. Speaking on this problem, I think it is my duty to place before the Government through you, Sir, the feelings of the people. The Government are no doubt tackling the problem of food, and we are sure this Government is keenly alive to the seriousness of the situation. But I would be failing in my duty if I did not say that the Government should go ahead with the major irrigation schemes that were already started. As early as 1950, the Government said in the Legislative Assembly that the Tungabhadra Project, the Lower Bhavani Project, the Malampuzha Project and the Manimuthar Project would go a long way to augment the food resources of this State. It was expected that by 1952 the Lower Bhavani Project would help in irrigating paddy fields to the extent of ten thousand acres. We were also hoping that the Malampuzha Project in Malabar and the Manimuthar Project in Tirunelveli would help in augmenting our food resources. Therefore when we found in February and March that the Malampuzha Project had come to a standstill there were protests after protests from several persons. So also with Manimuthar. This was heralded with a flourish of trumpets, I remember, by Sri Bhaktavatsalam, the then Public Works Minister who said that Tirunelveli would hereafter be saved from the food problem. He wanted a loan of one crore of rupees from the people towards this project. This was oversubscribed and the Hon. Minister congratulated them on this. People were therefore shocked when they heard in March that due to want of funds this project was to share the fate of the Malampuzha Project. I request the Government to pay greater attention to the completion of these schemes, because these would certainly augment the food resources of the country. Even yesterday's paper gave an alarming news that work on the Malampuzha Project was once again to be slowed down. We do not know the intentions of the Government. We request the Government to see to it that all these major

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irrigation projects are speeded up and the Central Government requested to give necessary grants to the State. We have been very often told that the Government of India are not very generous with regard to giving of grants for the capital projects. All these projects have been included in the five-year plan and the amount required for the completion of each of these projects has been included in the plan. We therefore request this Government to press upon the Government of India the imperative need for giving more and more grants for these capital works.

“ Sir, His Excellency has also referred to the plight of the handloom weavers and the handloom industry in this State. It was stated in the Address that there was a kind of crisis due to the recent slump. The crisis is not due to the recent slump. There has been a crisis during the past 24 months with regard to the handloom industry. It is one of the great cottage industries of this country and the plight of the industry and the weavers is so precarious that unless something radical is done there may be very bad consequences. I therefore request that Government should take urgent and necessary steps to see that the five lakhs of weavers in this State are not adversely affected.

“ Sir, one of the first acts of this Government soon after their assumption of office was the passing of the order instructing Collectors of districts that lands shall not be given in future to political sufferers. Here let me represent the view of the common man, the man in the street. This order of the Government was considered to be a step in the right direction by the common man. I congratulate the Government on the speed with which they passed such an order.

“ Another order of the Government for which they deserve congratulation is the order relating to the class of Government servants usually called the N.G.Os. These N.G.Os., you have to remember, are something like the steel frame of the governmental machinery, and it is right and proper that the Government, as soon as they assumed office, issued the order giving certain concessions to the children of the N.G.Os. I am delighted that the Government passed the order regarding the N.G.Os. and said that the children of these Government servants would have full fee concession up to III Form and half-fee concession for the high-school classes. I wish to draw the attention of the House in this connexion to Article 45 of the Constitution. It says that within a period of ten years from the enactment of this constitution the Government shall provide free and compulsory education to all children up to the age of fourteen. Please note the words. It is not free and compulsory education up to the age of eleven but free and compulsory education up to the age of 14, and it should be provided within ten years from the enactment of the Constitution. The State Government should see to it that there is universal literacy and that children are provided with free and compulsory education. When this order was passed I thought that probably Rajaji had this idea in mind and, as a first step in the implementation of the provisions contained in Article 45 of the Constitution,

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granted these concessions to the N.G.Os. This concession, we are glad to note, is to be given to the employees of district boards and municipalities including teachers. I have already made a suggestion to the Hon. Chief Minister that this concession should rightly be extended to the children of teachers in all schools including aided schools, and that this would be another step in the implementation of the provisions of Article 45 of the Constitution. When two-thirds of the people affected are going to have this concession, it will be an easy step for the Government to be good enough to extend the concession to the children of aided school teachers also. In conference after conference of the South India Teachers' Union and the All-India Teachers' Federation, we have been saying that children of teachers should have the right of free education. It is not up to the B.A. class that the concession is demanded, but I am asking that the concession that has rightly been granted to the children of the N.G.Os., should be extended to the children of teachers in aided schools. And, Sir, I would make one more request to the Government, to the Leader of the House and also to the Hon. the Minister for Education. If the Government are going to do anything, let it be done with grace, let it be done at the right time. Let it not be done after a great deal of agitation, a great deal of bargaining, after teachers have passed resolutions. If the Government magnanimously come forward, with boldness and with imagination and say that all teachers ought to have the concession, it would have a psychological effect. It is this fact that is important and therefore I request the Government to see that this concession is extended without any kind of agitation, without any kind of demand from the teachers as such. Speaking of the psychological effect I wish to tell the House, what a great psychological effect it had on the four hundred teachers who were entertained to 'tea' by the President Sri Rajendra Prasad. He rightly organized a garden party to the four hundred elementary school teachers at New Delhi. It created so much joy in our teachers. Therefore I request the Government to see that what is done is done with grace and that too quickly.

"Sir, as a representative elected to this House from the Teachers' Constituency I think it my duty to bring to the notice of the Government the difficult conditions in which the teachers are living. I wish to make this point clear at the outset that neither the South India Teachers' Union nor the Andhra Teachers' Federation is actuated by any trade union spirit. If these associations have been making demands for better status, better pay and all that, it is not because they want to build palaces. They have been making these requests only in the interest of education and in the interest of the children entrusted to their care. We can have a proper educational system in the country only if the teacher is given a living wage. In this connexion I have always been reminded of the great saying of a great writer that a discontented teacher is a menace to society, is a greater menace to society than a discontented lawyer or a discontented trader. Therefore we ought to see to it that there is no discontent among the teachers

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because this discontent will be communicated day after day, minute after minute to the children who sit at the feet of the teachers. The South India Teachers' Union has been making representations to Government along with the N.G.Os. that the recommendations of the Central Pay Commission with regard to salaries, house-rent allowance, dearness allowances and all allowances should be made applicable to the teachers of the State. The Government have been sympathetic and we are grateful to the Government for all that has been done. But we want to tell the Government that the present situation is certainly unsatisfactory. Last year the situation assumed serious proportions and the South India Teachers' Union convened a conference of the Presidents and Secretaries of the District Guilds all over the State and this Special Conference after mature consideration came to the following conclusion. The Conference said that as a result of the apathy of the Government towards teachers' salaries the following situation has resulted :

'Most schools are not adequately staffed. Vacancies still exist in schools. Untrained and unqualified persons are appointed as temporary teachers. There has been a steady deterioration in the quality of persons who seek admission in training colleges and schools. In training schools the standard have been lowered to such an extent as would cause great apprehension in the minds of those who have the wellbeing of children at heart.'

"Several training schools have been started at Kozhikode, Mangalore, Periyannayakanpalayam and other places but in spite of these we find in every school three or four untrained teachers.

'Good teachers with qualifications are leaving the profession.'

"This is a thing which we have to ponder over.

'Good teachers are leaving the profession as they are unable to make both ends meet with their earnings and the strain on them is made very great in view of the presence of unqualified and untrained colleagues. The standards of attainment and the tone of schools and colleges are showing marked signs of deterioration.'

The above facts contained in the resolution of the Teachers' Conference were placed on the table of the House at the last session of the Assembly, as the irreducible demands of the teaching profession. These were also brought to the notice of the Government and we received a reply from the Government regretting their inability to do anything at that stage. Thereafter the Executive Board of the Teachers' Federation met in November last and passed a resolution and suggested that an appeal should be made to His Excellency the Governor.

"The resolution stated :

'The Executive Board of the South India Teachers' Union feels that the time is coming when it may have to declare its inability to maintain the right morale of the teaching profession in this State. It, therefore, appeals to His Excellency the Governor of the State to appoint forthwith a Commission of Enquiry into the salaries and service conditions of teachers in this State and to direct the Government to give effect to its recommendations. The meeting authorises the President to communicate this resolution.'

12-30
p.m.

"These resolutions were communicated to His Excellency the Governor on the 25th December, and no reply has been received. I request the Government that a Commission of Enquiry may be appointed as asked for by the South India Teachers' Union. If

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we are not able to convince the Government of the reasonableness of our request, and if the Government feel that nothing can be done, at least let a Commission of Enquiry be appointed. This is a very modest and reasonable request contained in the resolution of the South India Teachers' Union. As I said before, the teachers feel that they are doing nation-building work, that they are doing work of the highest importance, and that it is the duty of the Government to come to their aid and see that they get a living wage.

"The hon. Mover of the Motion has already referred to the beneficial measure adopted by the Government in regard to famine in Rayalaseema, the food problem, etc. I do not want to enumerate all those things once again. We feel very glad that we are having a Republican Constitution and a democratic form of Government. Let us see that very good democratic traditions are set up. After all, the Government is not the Government of the Treasury Benches alone. It is the Government of the Treasury Benches and the Opposition, and if there are any good or bad acts of the Government, the responsibility for them has to be shared by all the Members of this House. I request the Government to see that very good conventions are set up and that Members of this House are consulted before decisions are taken. I have no doubt that under the leadership of Rajaji, this Government will be able to achieve a lot. Let us not, as Members of this House, quarrel over small things. I come from a teachers' constituency, and I feel that a lot of time is wasted on unnecessary discussions. We are all Members of this House. Some of my hon. Friends perhaps think that they are now under the old bureaucratic Government, that they have a foreign Government, and that they are doing something patriotic if they protest against any action of the Government. We have now our own Government. The Governor is our own man. I request hon. Members to realize that we are living in the democratic State of Madras, and that we have got to solve our problems ourselves. I feel particularly fortunate that Rajaji should have at considerable sacrifice consented to take up the reins of the Government, and I am sure that people all over the State are satisfied that he would tackle our problems successfully. The people want peace, orderly Government, food and clothing, and the common man feels that with Rajaji as the head of the Government, all these problems will be successfully tackled. I am sure that with the co-operation of the Members of this House, the Government will be able to achieve all these things. Sir, I have very great pleasure in seconding this motion of thanks-giving to His Excellency the Governor for his Address to the joint session of the Legislature on the 6th of May."

MR. CHAIRMAN :—"The motion is—"

'That an humble Address be presented to His Excellency the Governor that the Members of the Madras Legislative Council thank His Excellency for the Address delivered to the Members of the Legislature, on the 6th of May.'

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[Mr. Chairman]

I have received notice of several amendments. I will call upon each hon. Member who has given notice of an amendment to move his amendment. After that there will be a general discussion both on the motion and the amendments."

SRI S. B. ADITYAN :—" I move, Sir, the amendment standing in my name, namely—

' Add the following at the end :—

" but regret that your Government have failed to indicate any effective steps to alleviate the hunger, misery, distress and unemployment affecting the majority of the people of this State " "

SRI M. P. GOVINDA MENON :—" I second the amendment, Sir."

SRI ALEXANDER GNANAMUTTU :—" Mr. Chairman, Sir, I move the amendment standing in my name, namely :—

' Add the following at the end :—

" but regret to note the absence of any mention of immediate steps to alleviate the sufferings of the half-starved and ill-paid members of the teaching community." "

SRI S. B. ADITYAN :—" I second the amendment, Sir."

SRI S. RAMAKRISHNIAH :—" Mr. Chairman, Sir, I move the amendment standing in my name, namely :—

' Add the following at the end :—

" but regret to note that His Excellency has not been advised by the Council of Ministers on the following urgent and vital problems that are confronting the people of the State :

(i) *Educational reforms so very important for the building of a sound society; and adoption of common scales and service conditions of teachers working under various managements in the State;*

(ii) *miserable plight of teachers, N.G.Os. and other menial services that play an important role in the efficient running of the administration and the measures that are going to be adopted for raising their economic, political and social status;*

(iii) *guarantee of fundamental rights to all the services and repeal of all such Government Orders and circulars that are contrary to provisions of the New Constitution for as is being agitated for and demanded by several teachers' and N.G.O. organizations of the State; and*

(iv) *appalling conditions that are prevailing in the schools to-day as a result of inadequacy of staff and accommodation, enhanced school fees, unsuitable textbooks and the remedies therefor." "*

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JANAB SYED MAHABOOB :—“ I second the amendment, Sir.”

SRI G. KRISHNAMURTHY :—“ Mr. Chairman, Sir, I move the amendment standing in my name, namely :—

‘ Add the following at the end :—

“ but regret that nothing has been said about the steps intended to be taken to raise the pay and status of the starving teachers of this State.” ”

SRI B. V. SUBRAHMANYAM :—“ I second the amendment, Sir.”

SRI V. GURUNANDAN ROW :—“ Mr. Chairman, Sir, I move the amendment standing in my name, namely :—

‘ Add the following at the end :—

“ but regret to find that His Excellency's Council of Ministers do not propose to introduce any legislation upon vital problems affecting the people of this State and providing them with adequate food, clothing, shelter and employment.” ”

SRI S. B. ADITYAN :—“ I second the amendment, Sir.”

SRI P. SEETHARAMAYYA :—“ Mr. Chairman, Sir, I move the amendment standing in my name, namely :—

‘ Add the following at the end :—

“ but regret to express our entire dissatisfaction that your Government have failed—

- (i) to uphold the principles of democratic system of Government;
- (ii) to envisage the policies and programmes for the amelioration of the common man of rural areas and for the development of the State; and
- (iii) to take any steps whatsoever for bringing pressure on the Central Government for the early formation of Linguistic States.” ”

SRI K. SURYANARAYANA :—“ I second the amendment, Sir.”

SRI C. RAJESWARA RAO :—“ Mr. Chairman, Sir, I move the amendment standing in my name, namely :—

‘ Add the following at the end :—

“ but regret to note with disappointment—

- (i) that no steps have been proposed regarding the adequate protection of the fundamental rights of the citizens guaranteed in the Constitution of India and for putting a stop to the repressive measures and the curtailment of civil liberties such as banning of meetings and processions, arresting and jailing of public

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- workers, using of repressive machinery against workers, peasants and other sections of people struggling for the redressal of their just grievances, in the name of law and order;
- (ii) that no steps have been proposed to put a stop to the grabbing of the lands of the peasants and public and banjar lands, etc., by the zamindars and their utilizing dubious methods for circumventing the provisions of the enactment for the abolition of zamindaris;
- (iii) that no steps have been proposed to protect the present rights of the peasants in the inams and to put an end to the inhuman exploitation of the peasants by the big inamdars once for all;
- (iv) that no steps have been proposed for the redressal of the grievances of the peasants in the matter of procurement of the foodgrains and for the adequate supply of the foodgrains to the consumers at rates within their reach;
- (v) that the measures proposed to deal with the famine conditions in Rayalaseema and parts of other district do not touch even the fringe of the problem and that no steps such as construction of major irrigation projects are proposed for the eradication of famines in the State once for all;
- (vi) that no steps have been proposed for the solution of the urgent and vital problems of the workers and middle-class employees such as unemployment, high prices, low wages and salaries, etc.;
- (vii) that no steps have been proposed for the meeting of the just and minimum demands of the agricultural labourers and Harijans such as adequate wages, free house-sites, granting of banjar lands for cultivation, and strict implementation of the enactment for the removal of the disabilities of the Harijans passed by the Madras Legislature; and
- (viii) that no concrete steps have been proposed to protect the rights of minorities, especially the Muslims.”

SRI V. GURUNANDAN ROW :—“ I second the amendment, Sir.”

SRI B. V. SUBRAHMANYAM :—“ Mr. Chairman, Sir, I move the amendment standing in my name, namely :—

‘ Add the following at the end :—

“ but regret to note that His Excellency should have failed to inform the Legislature of the causes of its summons in so far as they relate to the entire period of the session, and express their surprise and concern that His Excellency should have postponed a clear indication

[Sri B. V. Subrahmanyam] [10th May 1952]

of the contemplated legislative policies of his Government regarding several matters of vital and immediate interest such as food shortage, famine, land reform, prohibition, and the like."

SRI S. B. ADITYAN :—" I second the amendment, Sir."

MR. CHAIRMAN :—" There will now be a discussion on the main motion and all the amendments. The hon. Member Janab Mahomed Usman will now speak."

* JANAB MAHOMED USMAN :—" Mr. Chairman, Sir, I have great pleasure in supporting the motion of thanks for His Excellency the Governor's Address moved by the hon. Member belonging to the party in power. Sir, the Address of the Governor deals with very important questions that are agitating the minds of the people, for example, the food problem. I am sure that the present Government will deal with the food problem and also the problem of water-supply in a very efficient manner. I need not dwell at length on these questions because so many hon. Members have already spoken on them. I am sure the Government will give their earnest attention to solving these problems. His Excellency the Governor has come in for a great deal of criticism in connexion with the action he has taken in the political field. The general elections have taken place. The Congress Party came in with 152 members, the Communist Party with 61 members, the K.M.P. Party with 33 or 35 members, and other parties with smaller numbers. It has often been stated that the Congress Party was a defeated party. Well, Sir, what do we mean by the word 'defeated'? If 'defeated' means that the Congress Party has not got in the Assembly an over-all majority or absolute majority, I say, Sir, no other party has got an over-all majority. The Congress Party has got 152 seats. Has the K.M.P. Party got more than 152? Has the Communist Party got more than 152? If the K.M.P. Party has the right to take the initiative to bring about a combination of other parties to increase the membership of the U.D.F. to about 160 or 162, I see no reason why the largest single party, namely, the Congress Party, should not have that right to coalesce with the others and swell its numbers to 200 or 210. We should be absolutely logical in all these matters. If a certain action is right for my hon. Friends in the Opposition, I do not see any reason why the same action is not right on the part of friends on the other side. There is a very apt saying in the Bible that 'He that is not with Me is against Me'. The U.D.F. has got 160 or 162 members. Therefore, those who are not with them are against them. The Congress Party has about 200 or 210 members now. Why should these 210 people be denied the opportunity of forming the Government, I ask. These 210 or 205 people, whatever may be their number, have justified their existence in the election of the Speaker, last week. No Governor can overlook the claims of the 205 or 210 members of whom 152 members belong to the Congress Party. So, I say that the Governor has acted most constitutionally in calling upon the Congress Party to form the Government. A Government formed otherwise would have been absolutely unconstitutional.

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“ Now, the question of the appointment of the Chief Minister comes in. We must all remember that Rajaji has rendered very distinguished services to the country in various capacities. He has been made the Chief Minister not because he is a nominated member of this Council but because he has been elected as Leader of the Congress Party by 152 members who have been elected under the Constitution. No doubt constitutionally a non-elected member of this House can be the Chief Minister. The Governor has asked Rajaji to form the Ministry simply because he is the elected Leader of the 152 members of the Congress Party, whose strength has now come to more than 200. That is a matter for congratulation because the Governor and everybody are interested in having a stable Government. We have now got a chance of having a stable Government and I sincerely trust that all members will support that Government and see to it that we have a stable and orderly Government. Therefore, I think that the Governor deserves our warmest thanks and cordial congratulations for having acted correctly from the constitutional point of view, in having called upon the Congress to form the Ministry and in having called upon Rajaji, the elected Leader of the 152 members of the Congress Party in the Assembly, to be the Chief Minister. I think the Governor's task has been a very difficult one. Perhaps in the whole of India such a problem has never arisen.

“ Well, in another place the Hon. the Chief Minister has stated that he has accepted the job to prevent the State from being ruined. I am sure every right-thinking person would support him and see that this country is not allowed to be ruined but on the other hand is allowed to prosper under his leadership. I, therefore, congratulate Rajaji and the Governor on the correct step that they have taken to see that this country is led in the right manner and in the right path.”

SRI M. P. GOVINDA MENON :—“ Mr. Chairman, Sir, I support the amendment moved by my leader Sri S. B. Adityan and also the other amendments moved to the motion of thanks, which has been moved from the other side. Sir, it may appear to be a contradiction in terms if I congratulate the Hon. the Chief Minister and the whole Council of Ministers on the Address which has been delivered to us by His Excellency on the 6th evening in the Assembly Hall. But my congratulation is for the excellent brevity of the Address. Sir, if you take any Legislature in the world, I am sure an Address at the opening session of the Legislature by the Constitutional Head would contain details about the policy of the Government and the attitude of the Government towards the burning questions of the day. But if you are to find out a speech at the opening of a session which is of the utmost brevity, you have to refer to the speech delivered to us by His Excellency the Governor on the 6th of May, for which the present Council of Ministers is responsible. When I say, ‘ the Council of Ministers ’ it only means the Hon. the Chief Minister multiplied by 15, because the Council of Ministers is nothing but Rajaji. So, I say this Ministry is responsible for the absolute brevity of the speech.

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“ Now, in his speech, His Excellency the Governor says, ‘ This is the first session of the State Legislature as constituted in accordance with the Constitution of the Republic of India, and I congratulate you on being members of this historic Legislature.’ Now, Sir, you know what the expectation of the people on the 6th of May was. The first election under the Constitution which has been framed by our leaders after long labour, which gave freedom to the people and which converted India into a Republic, was held on the basis of adult franchise. I do not know whether Rajaji had the opportunity to visit the polling stations, where some of the people working in the fields and millions of people throughout the State were waiting in queues in the hot sun without any food or drinking water to exercise their franchise and to have their say in the administration of the country, hoping that better days would come. They were all looking to the Assembly Hall on the 6th of May to know what would be the change in the administration of the State. They were tired of the Ministry which had been for four years notorious for its incapacity and ineffectiveness, and they were waiting for the establishment of a new Ministry which would come forward with a bold and courageous policy to herald a new era in the State. While this was their expectation, their anxiety has been heightened by the fact that one whom we all revere, who was the hero of many a battle in the freedom struggle, who was the friend, philosopher and guide of the Father of our Nation for a long time in the country’s struggle for the attainment of freedom, who had been the successful Governor in a problem Province immediately after the unfortunate partition of this country, who had been the last Governor-General of this country and who thereby ended the British administration in this country, was prevailed upon by the defeated Congress Party to assume power, especially when that gentleman wanted to retire into private life and spend his time in religious pursuits. The people were thinking that a new era had dawned in the State. But I would say with great deference to that Leader whom I revere and admire, and whom I had the fortune to follow in the freedom struggle, that this Address, so far as the policy of the Government is concerned, is an absolute zero. The bankruptcy of the whole policy of the Government has been indicated in this speech of His Excellency the Governor delivered on the 6th of May. I may indulge a little bit in a parable or anecdote. This generally forms part of the speeches of our revered Leader Rajaji, and as a humble follower of his, I also want to indulge in such things. In my area there is a saying which I shall relate just now. A good sportsman wanted to show his cleverness. He was asked to pass through or cross a circular ring. The ring was placed in a large area. The sportsman said, ‘ Why so wide, let the ring be smaller, I would jump through it.’ The ring was made smaller and smaller until at last it came to nothing. The clever sportsman said, ‘ Now I do not need the ring ; I can jump without the ring.’ Similarly has Rajaji done in this speech. Here is a speech which contains nothing about the policy of this Government. I would say this is an insult to the Legislature, an insult to

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the millions of voters who went to the polling stations and cast their votes expecting a new policy from the Government.

“ Now, Sir, we have to comment on this speech of His Excellency the Governor. What am I to comment on in this speech? There is absolutely nothing. We have only to comment upon omissions, not on what is stated but on what is omitted. I shall read one sentence from His Excellency's speech, with your permission. It runs as follows :—

‘The latest estimates indicate that the production of rice this year will be less than the normal by nearly 10 lakhs tons and the production of millets by nearly 4 lakhs tons.’

Who is responsible for the reduction in the production of rice in the Madras State? I shall just give one instance. To-day while coming to Madras I got a copy of ‘ The Mail ’ at Arkonam. With your permission, I shall read a piece of news reported in it :

‘ Since yesterday (May 7) work has been slowed down on the Malampuzha Project for lack of funds. Soon it will come to a complete standstill on the scheme, barring the spillway and the earth dam

‘ Large areas of cultivable land have been acquired for the project, reducing the total food output of the taluk.’

They are cultivable lands but they have been made non-cultivable by their acquisition. Then it goes on :

‘ But the project, estimated to irrigate 40,000 acres, has little chance of bearing fruit in the near future After the slowing down of work on the project a second time, people have become pessimistic about its being completed at all. They have begun to think that it is more likely to remain unfinished

We in Malabar have been neglected completely for hundreds of years in the matter of irrigation while my friends in the Telugu and Tamil areas have been fortunate because crores of rupees were spent there on irrigation. When they were indulging in the happiness of having irrigation projects, we were the Cinderellas of the State.

“ Rajaji asks us to pray for rains. Now I remember a story. Once the Kings of Pandya, Chera and Chola prayed to Lord Siva that there might be rains in our country. Lord Siva said, ‘ I will grant you one unanimous prayer. Let there be rains on the Western Ghats.’ Tamil Nad will be irrigated if there is rain on the Western Ghats. I have nothing to say about Tamil Nad being irrigated or Telugu Nad being irrigated, but the Government have been spending crores of rupees for the last 200 years in those areas. Do you know the amount spent in Malabar during the British administration? It was a paltry sum of Rs. 4,000. At last the Public Works Department had the courtesy and kindness to initiate a new project, the Malampuzha Project, and the present position is, work has been slowed down or has been completely stopped. Not only have the Government converted cultivable lands into non-cultivable lands, but they have also reduced the production of Malabar still more by their projects and now they say that there are no funds. They are able to find funds for the Tungabhadra and other projects but as far as Malabar is concerned, they are not able to find funds. Sir, I did make a suggestion last time in the Assembly and I repeat the suggestion now to the Hon. the Chief Minister to find a way

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out. He has been clever enough and he is noted for his capacity to find funds for all good works. Therefore, I make the suggestion and I hope he will take it into consideration. In Malabar there are what are known as producer-cum-consumer co-operative societies numbering about 101. These societies are growing in their volume of business. We have got a huge reserve fund lying idle in the district of Malabar. I do not want the Government to appropriate it, but to divert it as a loan for the Malampuzha Project. The people of Malabar are prepared to lend the money. Therefore, please do not stop the Malampuzha Project. Our money lying idle in the Reserve Bank can be utilized as a temporary loan and a nominal interest can be paid for it. For Heaven's sake, please do not stop the project.

1 p.m. "Another matter connected with my district is this. We had been crying for the last so many months about procurement. I hope the great Chief Minister Rajaji is also agitated in his mind about procurement. For the last five years every village has been ruled by the village karnam. It was a karnam's rule and not a Congress rule that we had during the past five years. I can say with vehemence that all these years, in Malabar, it was the village officers who had been ruling there. There has been an agitation among the Malabar people against this. Even when the Hon. Mr. Madhava Menon was Minister he had said that as an experimental measure the levy system could be tried at least in one taluk of Malabar. But what has happened? No response. The Government will not lose anything if they introduce the levy system. We are after all demanding a levy system based on the average procurement of the last five years. This system when introduced will be an inducement to the cultivator to cultivate more and increase productivity. Let us all follow the golden example of the great Mahatma. Let the cultivator be made happy and enabled to cultivate more. Let him not be harassed. After all nothing can be perfect. I may be guilty or the Hon. Minister may be guilty. We should forget our differences. I once again plead for the introduction of the levy system in the matter of procurement in the Malabar district.

"Next comes the question of policy of the Government with regard to prohibition. Prohibition is for the good of the people. There is a loose talk going on that prohibition is going to be scrapped. The Congress ranks have become nervous about continuing prohibition because of the terrible defeat they had in the recent elections. The great Rajaji who as Premier of Madras introduced prohibition in his home district of Salem in 1937 is now at the helm of affairs. I know he has a soft corner in his heart for prohibition throughout the State. I can most emphatically say that it is not the policy of prohibition as such but lack of strict enforcement of it that has led to the terrible defeat of the Congress at the polls recently. In my own district of Malabar open violation of Prohibition is taking place before the very eyes of the police. A juice called 'banana essence' which is something worse than arrack, something worse than toddy is openly sold in the very presence of the prohibition guards. While the previous Ministry

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was in office I complained against one Circle Inspector for his neglect of duty in enforcing prohibition. I had ample evidence to prove my charge. I am a practising lawyer. I could have proved my case in a court of law. But what is the use of complaining to the Government? The reward that I got was this: the Circle Inspector was promoted. Hence my complaint is that if at all prohibition is to succeed it should be enforced strictly.

“ Now in Malayalam there is a word called ‘ Aaram ’. It signifies that eminent thinkers while they are talking on some topics, quite inadvertently will utter some words (the words would somehow come out of their mouths) which would be indicative of the future. I am sorry to note that the great Rajaji had committed such a mistake. In a recent speech he has referred to his re-entry into politics as amounting to his downfall. It is not the old Rajaji who led us previously in 1937, who championed the Congress in the Salt Satyagraha and who was our dear leader. It is a new Rajaji whom we find now. He is trying to rehabilitate and bring new life to a diseased body, viz., the Congress. With great respect which I have for Rajaji and with humble devotion I beg to submit that such a great brain and such an intellect as Rajaji has should not be utilized to revive the Congress which is for all practical purposes dead in our State. In spite of all this, I am sorry to say, that in the Address we are discussing, there is no Rajaji touch at all.”

* DR. S. MUTHULAKSHMI REDDI :—“ Mr. Chairman Sir, I support the resolution of thanks to His Excellency for the Address he delivered to both Houses of Legislature on the 6th of May 1952.

“ Sir, the new Ministry that has come into being under the leadership of Rajaji who is possessed of a keen intellect, has assumed office only very recently. It should be allowed sufficient time to study all the problems confronting the Government at the present moment. I should say that the sympathy that His Excellency evinces for the people, his tour of the famine-stricken areas, and the relief measures that he has proposed for them are praiseworthy. His instructions to the concerned officers to formulate and carry out relief measures quickly have been very effective. The response to the Famine Relief Fund had been very encouraging.

“ Besides all these serious problems facing the Government at the present juncture, there are the problems of education, health, disease, nutrition, medical relief, and above all the social and legal disabilities of the women of our State. I want to lay particular emphasis on the low economic position which the women of our State are occupying now. One may understand this statement when there are only two ladies in the Legislative Assembly composed of 375 Members. In spite of the fact that our Constitution has given them equal rights and equal opportunities with men, yet they are still backward. They are not in a position to make their influence felt on others. This is due mainly to their dependent economic status. We have been indeed very fortunate to have

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Rajaji with us as our leader. Under his able leadership I think the Government would consider all our problems with a clear eye and formulate policies for their solution.

"In this connexion I want to say a word or two about Sri Rajagopalachari. I know him, Sir, ever since the time I met him sitting in the late Mr. Srinivasa Ayyangar's house guarding Mahatma Gandhiji. He has been Gandhiji's principal friend and trusted associate. It was he who initiated the satyagraha movement in our State and brought it to a successful end. The manner in which he led us in the satyagraha movement has evoked the admiration of one and all. We and particularly the women of our State should feel proud that we have now Rajaji as the head of our Government at the present juncture.

"Equally well I know Mr. Prakasam. At a time when he was at the height of his glory as a prosperous Bar-at-Law and was living in a palatial building furnished to the European taste, he came forward, throwing aside all his personal fortunes, at the call of the country. He has made very great sacrifices. Ever since the time he was the editor of the paper *Swarajya* I knew him. *Swarajya* was a paper which I very much liked, because it advocated the cause of women's progress and reforms for women.

"Now what do we see before us? We have a Republican Government under the New Constitution. We see the two great patriots sitting before each other on opposite sides. Of course it was by force of events that Rajaji has come back to politics. After having held eminent positions, it was with the sincere intention of taking a well-earned rest, that he came back to Madras. Once I wrote a letter to him requesting him to preside over a function. He wrote me back saying, 'Please forget me'. I have a grudge against him for his having said so. I now rejoice to find him amidst us. Mr. Prakasam, in spite of his being 84, due to the indomitable spirit he has, is now in the Opposition. Of course it is of the utmost necessity that for the successful working of democracy we should have constructive criticism from the Opposition. I only wish, Sir, that these two great patriots who have done so much for the attainment of freedom would come together, forgetting their differences and work for the common good of one and all.

"We, women always stand for peace, unity and co-operation. We need a stable Government. We have to raise the morale and character of the people which has become low. We should raise our society to a higher standard of thought and living. We should give our people peace, happiness and prosperity which they hoped to get with the attainment of freedom. Therefore, I hope that the two leaders would forget their differences and come together to lead the country in the right direction.

"With these words I support the resolution of thanks to His Excellency."

* SRI ALEXANDER GNANAMUTTU :—"Mr. Chairman Sir, His Excellency's Address to the members of both Houses of

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Legislature has been very brief, bare and bald. I am speaking on the floor of this House as a teacher representing teachers, as a teacher of thirty years' experience and as the seniormost principal of a college in our State. I must frankly confess that I was very much disappointed to see that nothing at all concerning teachers has been said in the Governor's Address. The teachers are no doubt grateful to the framers of our Constitution for having given them a place in the Sun, I mean a representation, however small it may be, in the Legislatures. Hereafter we teachers can come here and represent our grievances in a constitutional manner before the Government. I am hopeful that the Government would sympathetically pay heed to our grievances and try to redress them.

"Sir, thirty long days have elapsed since the Government assumed office and it is surprising that the Government are yet unable to formulate their policies or to tell us the shape of things to come, at least in matters relating to education. 1-15 P.m.

"Sir, references have been made in the Address of His Excellency to the admirable steps that are being taken by the Government to relieve the distress and the sufferings of the people in the famine-stricken areas. Sir, in my opinion, the people who have suffered for long years from chronic want, from chronic poverty, from chronic famine, are the members of my profession (hear, hear); they are the teachers. Sir, for the last two decades or more, we have been persistently, periodically and even plaintively, asking the Government to redress our grievances. We have been asking for better scales of salaries, better conditions of service, greater security of tenure, but nothing substantial, nothing tangible, has yet been done by the Government.

"Sir, two weeks ago the Government made a very splendid beginning by making an announcement regarding fee concessions and full and free medical aid to the children of the non-gazetted officers and children of the employees of local bodies. I fondly looked at that announcement; I read it over and over again to find whether a similar concession would be extended to the children of members of the staff working in aided institutions; but, I was sorely disappointed. When the Secretary of the South Indian Teachers Guild approached the Chief Minister and wanted to find out whether that concession would be extended to the children of members of the staff working in aided institutions, perhaps the Chief Minister felt that Oliver had asked for more and he replied that the teachers are never satisfied with whatever is given to them"

THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI:—"That is not correct."

* SRI ALEXANDER GNANAMUTTU:—"I speak subject to correction, Sir. I culled it from a report in the Mail."

THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI:—"I did not say that."

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* SRI ALEXANDER GNANAMUTTU :—“ Sir, for the last 25 years, we as teachers, have been asking for bread and the Government in turn have been giving us stone. Sir, the unkindest cut of the Government was when the Chief Minister—I am again speaking subject to correction—told one of the teacher representatives, that they should give up the trade union spirit. Sir, teachers all over the State are now experiencing a sense of frustration and futility. Side by side with this remark of the Chief Minister, I would recall to your memory the remark made by His Excellency the Governor just two weeks ago speaking before an audience in the Hindu High School. Here, again, Sir, I am reading from a report in the *Mail*. His Excellency, referring to the plight of teachers said, ‘ Teachers deserve to be paid more than what they are given. There should be an equitable arrangement made by society so that all its limbs might function in happiness and in real spirit.’ Sir, I feel that greater courage and greater sympathy and greater imagination must be shown by the Government in order to tackle this vital problem concerning the teachers who belong to a famished race. Sir, I would like to mention to this House that there are institutions in the south—I refer particularly to institutions in my district of Tirumelveli—where fee concessions are given to the children of members of the staff. It was the Hindu College, Tirunelveli, which started giving the concessions a dozen years ago to children of members of the staff. That was followed by all Diocesan institutions and there is a move now, Sir, to give full free education to the children of the members of the staff in those institutions beginning from the next academic year. Sir, very recently, as the Members of this House are aware, a resolution was passed and accepted by the Annamalai University, according to which the children of University teachers are to be given full free education.

“ Sir, I said that we belong to a famished race. I would go a step further and say that we belong to the chosen race. I use the word ‘ chosen ’ advisedly because we are blessed abundantly by God at least in one respect, and that is, in the battalion of children that we have; and if anyone is to get this concession, Sir, the children of teachers have a greater claim than anyone else. Of course, I do not for a moment grudge the fee concessions given to the children of the non-gazetted officers. But, what I feel is, that children of teachers, whether they work in aided institutions, or Government institutions, or institutions supported or managed by local bodies, everyone of these, must be given the benefit of full fee concession from the kindergarten class right up to the B.A. The Government may turn round and say, that it is an impossible demand, that the Government have no money or that the exchequer may go bankrupt. . Summoning up all my courage, I would say, scrap that Prohibition, that unwanted Prohibition, that much criticized and demoralizing Prohibition. Sir, with the help of the Rs. 20 crores of excise income you are so easily losing, give the teachers bread and not stone.

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“ Sir, I am not making an impossible demand, an extravagant demand, I am not asking for anything which is beyond the means of the Government. But, I am asking for the nicely calculated less. My prayer this morning to the Chief Minister and through the Chief Minister, to the Government is, to give us, members of this famished race, these half-starving teachers all over the State of Madras, our daily bread.”

* SRI K. BALASUBRAMANYA AYYAR :—“ Mr. Chairman, Sir, I rise to support the motion of thanks to His Excellency for his Address. After having read all the various amendments, I still do so. I thank His Excellency the Governor not only for what he has said in the Address, but also for what he has not said in the Address. I remember the very notable sentence in the Address, namely : ‘ After completing the necessary business at this sitting, it has been decided that you will be called upon to gather again in June and I shall address you again at the commencement of that sitting under clause (1) of Article 175.’ Now, Sir, this sentence in His Excellency’s Address has not been mentioned by any of the hon. Members who spoke eloquently and with great vehemence on the sins of omission which the Government have committed in the Address. As I said, Sir, the Governor promises to speak again to the members of the House and I hope on that occasion all the members of the House will attend, that there would not be a walk-out and that they will hear what the Governor will say in his Address. I am sure that during that session, all the points will be covered”

SRI V. CHAKKARAI CHETTI :—“ How does the hon. Member know it? ”

* SRI K. BALASUBRAMANYA AYYAR :—“ I do not know anything. I do not assume that the Governor will do it. Hon. Members are too clever to assume anything. Therefore, I do not assume, but the Governor’s Address says so. If hon. Members read the previous sentence in the Address, they will understand it aright. It is this : ‘ My Government assumed office on 10th April 1952. Owing to the shortness of time between that date and now, my Address will not cover as much matter as ordinarily, at the beginning of a session, the Address may be expected to deal with.’ So, Sir, any intelligent person who reads this sentence will naturally infer that the next Address will cover all the points, unless the Address is going to disappoint you. I do not assume that. Therefore, I trust that the next Address will cover all the points necessary for the purpose of formulating the policies of the Government. Then, perhaps at that time the criticism may be that the Address is too long. I do not know. I leave it to the members then to state whether they will do so or not. But, I think, the Government have been wise in not referring to any definite matters of policy at this particular juncture and they have postponed a clear formulation of policies on many matters affecting the welfare of the whole State to the June sitting of the Legislature. Therefore,

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I presume that the Governor's Address in June will try to satisfy the members of the House on the formulation of the policies of the Madras Government. Therefore it is that I do not at the present juncture want to refer to any of the very many problems which are facing our country.

" Now, Sir, in this brief Address, His Excellency has referred to two important matters; one about the famine conditions in Rayalaseema and in the other districts of our State and the other about the plight of the handloom industry. These are the two most urgent matters which have necessarily to be referred to in the present Address. I think, hon. Members of the House will be thankful to the Governor for referring to these two matters in his Address. Of course, a mere statement in the Address will not do, but the policy has to be implemented by the action taken by the officials of the Government and also by voluntary organizations. In fact, these voluntary organizations will come forward to implement the various measures which the Government will take for the purpose of alleviating the distress in the Rayalaseema area and the other districts. I hope that the officials also will, in their turn, be induced to do even more than they are doing at the present moment.

1-30
p.m. " As regards the handloom industry, which is a cottage industry, the matter has to be dealt with urgently. But the various interests that are connected with that industry have to be consulted before any definite steps are taken. Sir, as one who has been following the events in our country, with some amount of care and attention, I might say that the difficulty of the Government is not about formulation of policies adumbrated with spectacular statements or slogans or phrases borrowed from foreign literature. I say, it is not the formulation of policies that is most important; it is the actual administration of the country after getting a clear picture of the whole situation. We shall grant that the present Government which have come to power after the new Constitution, will have to study the whole picture, will have to get a clear and comprehensive view of our difficulties, and it is only then that policies have to be carefully adumbrated, discussed, digested, and afterwards they have to be implemented as soon as possible. The Government should always take a realistic and practical view of every matter. I am glad my hon. Friend, Mr. Alexander Gnanamuttu referred to the plight of our teachers. I am one with him in his strong feeling that the acute distress and the famished condition of the teachers in our State should be removed as soon as possible. But all these questions require a general study of the income and resources of our State, the way in which the whole administration could be carried on for the purpose of effecting all reforms that are necessary for having a good and well-developed State. It is only then that the Government can take effective steps. Otherwise, remedies which are adopted may be worse than the disease and thereby serious results may follow. Therefore I would appeal

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to the Madras Government that they should study carefully the conditions in our country, and it is only after a careful study that they should formulate definite policies.

"As regards Prohibition, my hon. Friend, Mr. Alexander Gnanamuttu stated that he would welcome scrapping of Prohibition. I hope and trust the Government of Madras will never do it. I am confident that the Government of which my revered Friend Sri Rajagopalachariar—I don't say, Rajaji, for only those who have moved with him rather closely can call him Rajaji; I had occasion to follow him as a humble follower only from a distance and so I cannot say, Rajaji; I can only say Sri Rajagopalachariar—is the head, will never be a party to the scrapping of Prohibition. I remember the day in 1939 or 1940 when the then Governor as the sole head of this State after the Congress Ministry of 1937 resigned office, scrapped the Prohibition policy inaugurated in 1938 and blasted all our hopes. I remember well that it was Sri Rajagopalachariar who at that time led a very strong and powerful agitation against this action. But, Sir, as soon as the Congress Government assumed power in 1948 . . . (Several hon. Members: 'In 1946.') Yes, in 1946; I was not a Member of the Legislature at that time, and so I am not quite sure of the year . . ."

MR. CHAIRMAN :—"The hon. Member may continue his speech after lunch. The House will now rise and meet again at 2-30 p.m."

The House then rose for lunch.

(After lunch—2-30 p.m.)

(Deputy Chairman in the Chair.)

* SRI K. BALASUBRAMANYA AYYAR (cont.) :—"Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, before lunch I was referring to the subject of Prohibition. In spite of the many evasions of the provisions of the Act and in spite of the fact that in many places the offences committed are not detected, I still think that, on the whole, Prohibition has worked well, especially in regard to the poorer classes. It has conferred a great benefit on the poorer classes. I have come into contact with many of the poorer classes, and especially the women in their households have always said that Prohibition has done their families much good. I therefore hope and trust that our Government will always maintain their policy of Prohibition intact.

"I am not referring to any other matter because I am holding my soul in patience till the time when His Excellency the Governor will again address the joint session of the Legislative Assembly and the Council. On that occasion we shall refer to all the points in detail and I think it is unnecessary for us to refer to any other matter now.

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“ I am perfectly sure that by the wise, able and statesmanlike guidance of our eminent, veteran statesman, the Hon. Sri C. Rajagopalachari, the many problems that we have in our country will be solved and the many grievances that we are having now will all be redressed and we shall have a good and prosperous Madras State.”

SRI C. RAJESWARA RAO :—“ Mr. Chairman, Sir, now in the afternoon sitting I find most of the members of the Congress Party and most of the Ministers have absented themselves. I thought all of them would be here so that I could give them first-hand the views of the Communist Party on several matters affecting our State, especially as our Hon. Chief Minister yesterday raised very big issues—issues not only political but ideological also, which the Chief Minister thought stood in the way of the solution of our difficulties.”

THE HON. SRI N. RANGA REDDI :—“ Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I rise on a point of order. Can the hon. Member refer to a speech which was made on the floor of the Legislative Assembly? He can only refer to speeches made on the floor of this House.”

SRI C. RAJESWARA RAO :—“ Sir, I do not know the rules very much but, I think, it will not be in the interests of the people or of the House if the Government should raise such objections. If they want to hear our views they must be prepared to allow me to proceed. Otherwise, I only take it that they are afraid of hearing our views. If they are not afraid they should not raise any such objection, firstly because I am new to this Legislature and secondly because our party is the most slandered, and most Members of this House might have some doubts regarding the practices and the policies of our party. I therefore thought I should clear the many doubts with regard to our party and also what our party wants to do for the people. Many Members might not accept the ideologies of our party but our party has its own opinions on so many practical issues which it has put forth before the people. I only want to see whether the people can agree with the Communist Party and work in co-operation with them.

“ Turning back to the Governor's Address, I was very much disappointed not because the Address did not tell us what all we wanted but because it has not put forth any detailed programme. It would not have taken much time to have given a few lines on the programme and policy of this Government. Of course, we know and everybody knows in this House, what are the problems of the people and in which way this Government want to move. This could have been very easily stated. Shortness of time, I think, is not a correct excuse. If the excuse is correct, I would ask the Hon. Chief Minister, why it is that he has been speaking in public meetings about so many things relating to the problems of the people; for instance he has spoken something about the non-gazetted officers and the teachers. Why is it that he cannot

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speak about other sections of the people on the floor of this House? Why is it that he cannot advise His Excellency the Governor on all these issues? Everybody knows that famine is raging in Rayalaseema and in parts of other districts and there is so much talk of projects. One cannot say which project will be begun first and what steps the Government are taking for the permanent eradication of famine. One cannot also say whether the Government intend to take up major projects in areas where famine is raging. Not even a simple statement has been made on these points.

“An hon. Member spoke as if the Opposition wanted only a long Address. Of course, we also know that one can write a long Address but with nothing in it. In a short Address too one can put forth what one wants to do for the people. This is my complaint.

“It is said that the Government have not made any decisions about their policy, but our Chief Minister has decided and has told us in so many words what his policy is. He has said:

‘I am here to save my country from the dangers and traps of the Communist Party. I am your Enemy No. 1 and you are also my Enemy No. 1. There you have my policy from A to Z.’

This is what he has declared openly. This is his policy from A to Z. Of course this is the negative aspect of the matter and there might be a positive aspect also but it seems to me that this proclamation of anti-communism will guide them in everything. Whatever the Communists say, whether it is good or bad, it is becoming of a Congressman only when he abuses them. If this is the attitude that our Chief Minister adopts, I think it is very unhappy for the Government as well as for the people. When this policy was declared several papers wrote that this was a declaration of war on the Communist Party. But, I would say, that this is not only a declaration of war on the Communist Party but a declaration of war on all the progressive parties, groups and individuals in this State. Whether the Hon. Chief Minister means it or not, if he begins to act in this way, it is sure to end in a declaration of war on all the progressive parties and on the people of this State also. I am obliged to say all these because the Communist Party has its own programme which it has placed before the people. I think Hon. Ministers and the members of the Congress Party also might have had a look at it. We gave out our election manifesto and subsequently we were also one of the parties who shaped the programme of the United Democratic Front. I ask the Hon. Ministers to say whether they can find fault with the programme of the United Democratic Front. We want to implement that programme. If the Government would only allow us to implement that programme through the Legislature we would do so in all honesty and sincerity. It is a simple programme to which nobody has taken any objection. I only want to say that the Congress Party and the Congress Government, if they are against this programme, would soon land themselves in

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a position where they would have to fight not only the Communist Party but also the other progressive parties who want something to be done for the people.

"Again, it is said that we exploit every difficulty, every discontent and every complaint in the country."

THE HON. SRI N. RANGA REDDI:—"On a point of order, Sir, hon. Members will see that he is talking about party politics."

SRI C. RAJESWARA RAO:—"Let me finish my speech," (Cries of order, order.)

*SRI S. B. ADITYAN:—"It has been ruled, Sir, that the policies of the Congress Party and the Communist Party can be discussed in this House. There is said to be a war. The Governing Party has said that the Communists are their enemy. The Communists, and those who are with them, are prepared to meet this war both inside this House and outside this House through public meetings and demonstrations. There cannot be one rule for the ruling party and another for the people. Here is a representative of the people who is replying to certain allegations made by the Leader of the Congress Party. You can check him, Sir, if he goes beyond the points raised by the Leader of the Congress Party."

THE HON. SRI N. RANGA REDDI:—"Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, on a point of order, I would like to remind Mr. Adityan that if any subject has to be discussed on the floor of this House it must have relevance to the proceedings of this House. What the Leader of the Party and Chief Minister said on the floor of the Legislative Assembly should not be referred to here. Let us confine ourselves to the proceedings before this House. This House is not the place for replying to what was said on the floor of the Legislative Assembly."

SRI C. RAJESWARA RAO:—"Sir, I have already said that the Government should not raise such a point of order. I will not mention about what happened in the other House but I have every right to meet the arguments put forward by others.

2-45
p.m.

"Sir, I thought the Members of the Government were not afraid to hear the views of the Communist Party. But I find the Hon. Ministers are afraid . . ."

THE HON. DR. M. V. KRISHNA RAO:—"Not at all afraid."

SRI C. RAJESWARA RAO:—"If they are not afraid, they need not have raised this point of order. Though I have no right to refer to the proceedings of the other House, I have every right to refer to the arguments raised by members belonging to the Congress Party. It is said by responsible members of the Congress Party that the Communist Party is out to utilise every difficulty in the country, every discontent in the country and every complaint in the country to bring a bad name to the Government.

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I ask the Members of the Government, 'Who are responsible for this discontent?' I further ask, 'Is it the Communist Party who are reasonable for the creation of this discontent?' I may tell the Members of the Government that if the grievances of the people are redressed there will be no occasion for the Communist Party to exploit them. I challenge the Members of the Government whether they are willing to hand over the reins of Government to the members of the Communist Party and allow them to run the administration of the State for a period of about six months and see for themselves whether the Communists are able to solve the problems facing the country or not. I have no objection to the members of the Congress Party exploiting the discontent prevailing in the State during this period. They may also not be afraid of any kind of violence being used against them.

"What is the cause of the discontent prevailing in the State? The Congress Party was ruling this State for the last five years. What is it that the Congress Government have done in those five years? Have the Congress Government fulfilled one item of their programme during that period? I heard hon. Members belonging to the Congress Party referring to the draft Five Year Plan and the election manifesto in their speeches. Of course, during the last five years, the Congress Party have not implemented even one item of the several programmes which they had prepared. The Congress Party had promised to abolish the Zamindari system. Of course it has been abolished, but who are benefited by this abolition? I am coming from a district full of zamin areas. After the abolition of the zamindari system, the zamindars have been claiming all the banjar lands in the zamin areas as their own. They are also claiming the lanka lands as their own, though they have got no right over them legally. The Government have not taken any single step to do justice to the lanka ryots. Still the Members of the Government say that the Communist Party is exploiting the discontent of the people. What is it the Congress Government have done for the Harijans and the agricultural labourers? Have the Congress Government provided a hut for every agricultural labourer's family? Have they provided adequate wages to agricultural labourers, not to eat *pulavu* and other things but only two ordinary meals a day? What have the Government done with regard to the banjar lands available except giving them to big landlords? I come from Guntur district. There are about 50,000 acres of banjar lands available there and most of them are in the hands of big landlords, who support the Congress. The poor agricultural labourers have not been given any land at all. If the Congress Government can give a small piece of land to every agricultural labourer's family for constructing a hut, can guarantee them adequate wages and lastly, can strictly enforce the Removal of Civil Disabilities Act, I am sure, all the agricultural labourers would support them and not the Communist Party. I trust that even now at this late hour the Congress Government will carry out the above reform.

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“ With regard to the non-gazetted officers, of course, some petty concessions are given. We are not against these petty concessions; the point is whether they solve the real problem of the non-gazetted officers. I want to know why the Government have not implemented the recommendations of the Central Pay Commission. Although the Congress Government at the Centre have accepted the recommendations of the Central Pay Commission, the Congress Government in this State have not accepted them. Why is it that the recommendations of the Central Pay Commission which are very modest cannot be accepted by the Congress Government here? Instead of granting petty concessions like educational facilities for the children of non-gazetted officers, the Government could very well have implemented the Central Pay Commission's recommendations. If this is done, the non-gazetted officers will support the Government.

“ My hon. Friend Sri Sitharama Dass who moved the motion of thanks to His Excellency the Governor for his Address said in the course of his speech that the Government should be congratulated for enhancing the price of paddy. It is good that the Government have increased the price of paddy. But the difficulty is that peasants are not able to sell their paddy. I have also got lands and I produce paddy. But I am unable to sell my paddy. I want to bring to the notice of the Government that procurement is not properly carried on in surplus districts. Though the peasants are willing to sell their paddy the millers are not purchasing it for lack of money. The present policy of procurement pursued by the Government has resulted in the creation of a new zamindari system—‘ miller-zamindari system.’ Every miller is allotted certain villages for procurement and if that miller does not procure all the grains available for sale in those villages for lack of money, another miller cannot go and procure them. Though the Government have fixed the price of paddy in surplus districts, the price of paddy is not uniform in all the places in those districts. For example, paddy is sold at blackmarket rates—Rs. 30 and more per maund—at Vinukunda in Guntur district though the controlled rate fixed by the Government is only Rs. 16 or so in the whole district.”

DEPUTY CHAIRMAN :—“ The hon. Member has taken more than 25 minutes and there are many hon. Members who wish to participate in the discussion. The hon. Member may take only five minutes more.”

3 p.m. SRI C. RAJESWARA RAO :—“ I can give the House so many instances but I am not able to do so for want of sufficient time. The Government have failed to do anything for the people. Even in regard to petty reforms, not to speak of the reforms and the programmes of the Communist Party, even in the matter of the programme of the Government, they have not fulfilled even one item and that is why the people are very much discontented and that is why the Congress Party lost so heavily in the last elections

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and that is why the Chief Minister, some other Ministers and Congress Committee presidents and secretaries were defeated at the polls. Let the Government put aside their ostrich-like policy and forget the argument that the Communists got in because the Congress was divided. Out of forty seats for which candidates were put up by us, we won 20 seats with an absolute majority. What does it show? It shows that the population, the majority of the population are with us. I come from Krishna and there we won ten out of the twelve seats with an absolute majority and that at a time when the Congress Government had ruled for five years very severely with bullets and lathis. It has been said that there were quarrels within the party; why, we also quarrel within our party; so many expected that the Communist Party would go to pieces; it has not gone to pieces but it is gaining in strength. Inside the Congress Party, there was quarrel and group after group came out—first the Socialists, then the KMP people, the KLP people and so many others. I do not know if those who are still in the Congress will not quarrel with each other and some of the sections come out. But what is the reason why there are quarrels? You quarrel because you are not able to do anything for the people and that is why groups who want to do something for the people find it hard to remain in the party and come out. Let, therefore, the Members of Government put aside this ostrich-like method of explaining their failure by saying that it is their internal quarrels that have brought them to this position. I could deal with so many points but for want of time, I am unable to do it. Before concluding, I want to give one warning to the Chief Minister that we of the U.D.F. have got a programme, the most minimum programme, and we want to work that out whether through the Legislature or otherwise.

(At this stage, the Chairman occupied the Chair.)

“ If the Hon. Chief Minister is going to resist that simple demand by quoting the authority of the rules and the Constitution, and consign it to the waste-paper basket, I would say, Sir, that if any chaos ensued in the country, it will not be because of the Communist Party, it will not be because of the United Democratic Front but it will be because of the Congress Party which, though having been given the power, failed in its duty and in its programme. Therefore, it is the Congress Party that will be responsible for it and not the Communist Party or the United Democratic Front.”

SRI K. BHASHYAM :—“ Mr. Chairman, Sir, I rise to support the motion of thanks moved by my hon. Friend, not so much for the Address but for what has been done by His Excellency the Governor before the Address was delivered. At the time he took up office, the Governor was confronted with a difficult position; he was confronted with the fact that there were parties and parties who had been elected to the Legislature but no party had any definite majority in the House and it was necessary for him to come

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to some conclusion as to which party should be called to power for the purpose of ruling the State during the life of the Legislature. The Congress Party, which had behind it traditions of sound Government, had 152 or 154 members. The others did not belong to a single party, as their views on things were not identical and they had not the same ideologies. They belonged to many parties and some of these parties joined together under the appellation of the United Democratic Front and they said that they consisted of 160 members in the Legislature. The question was not what was the party that could show the Governor the largest number of members, but what was the party which could take up the Government of the State and command a majority in the House. The total number of members in the House is 375 and unless any party can show that it has behind it 188 or 190 members, it cannot command a majority of votes. When the party position was like that, it was not a question of which party had the largest number of members but which party would be able to form a stable Government; there were about 50 or 52 members who had been left out of account and it was not known which side they would join. The question was for the Governor to decide at that stage. At that stage, the veteran statesman, the wise and great politician took up the leadership of the Congress Party. The United Democratic Front had practically reached the limits of its membership and there were members who did not want to join it. But so far as the Congress Party was concerned, there was the prospect of other members joining or supporting the Congress Party in the Legislature and in those circumstances it was the bounden duty of the Governor to have selected the Congress Party to take up the reins of Government, as that party would be the party with the largest number of members in the Legislature. It is not, therefore, a question of which party had 150 members and which party had 160 members at the time. It was a question of which party would be able to form a stable Government, and with the materials before him, His Excellency found that the Congress Party under the headship of Sri C. Rajagopalachari with the prospect of the 50 or 60 independent members joining it or at any rate supporting it, should be the party which should run the Government of the State. In taking the decision he did, he was perfectly justified and constitutionally correct: his judgment was perfectly correct and absolutely justified as later events have proved. There was a trial of strength in the Assembly yesterday on two occasions and in both those cases, the Congress Party had the largest support. There was one other objection raised, a constitutional objection that the Hon. Sri C. Rajagopalachari has come in not by way of election but by way of nomination and that a person nominated to the Legislature is not entitled to be either a Minister or a Chief Minister. I do not think they went so far as to say that a nominated member should not be a Minister. In that connexion, I wish to submit that we are guided by the principles of democratic Government obtaining in Western countries and we profess that we are following those principles. I can quote more than one instance

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in the history of England where the Prime Minister was not a Member of the House of Commons but of the House of Lords."

SRI M. P. GOVINDA MENON:—" Was there ever a nominated Prime Minister of England? "

SRI K. BHASHYAM :—" Mr. Chairman, Sir, there was more than one Minister like that. I think the Duke of Wellington was one; I am not quite sure of Lord Beaconsfield but there were Peers who were Prime Ministers of England."

SRI V. CHAKKARAI CHETTY :—" Let me correct the hon. Member, Mr. Chairman. Lord Beaconsfield was never the Prime Minister of England as a Member of the House of Lords."

SRI K. BHASHYAM :—" I do not yield, Sir, they were suggesting that for being a Chief Minister one ought to come through election. But, Sir, what is the position of a Peer? He does not come through election, but he is there in the House of Lords by virtue of hereditary right and not on account of any particular merit; he is there because he is the son of his father. If such a person can rule the country, why should there be any objection in the case of a person who has been nominated by the Governor for his eminence and capacity? I do not understand why he should not be the Chief Minister; there is no democratic principle violated and no constitutional impropriety has been perpetrated. From the point of view of the governance of the country, what is the need of the country? Stable Government. Having regard to that fact, the action of the Governor was perfectly justified and all the remarks that have been made against his action are baseless and ought not to be accepted.

" I should like to say a word or two about His Excellency the Governor's Address. Objection has been taken by hon. Members to the fact that it is short. It is short, they said, and, therefore, there must be something wrong about it. So far as the Address is concerned, it has dealt with things which are absolutely necessary, at any rate, things that have to be dealt with foremost under the present circumstances. What are the needs of the country? Famine has to be tackled and the question of food has to be solved and the unemployed have to be found work. All these things have been dealt with in the Address. Of course, there are other pressing problems, for example, the problem of teachers who are really working hard and have been given inadequate pay. When I saw one of the senior officers of the Department of Education, he told me that it would be very difficult for him to get on with the work of the department unless the salary of the teachers was raised at once. Unless that is done, many of them will turn Communist. The lower grade teachers are getting from Rs. 30 to Rs. 55 and when they see a postman getting Rs. 75 or Rs. 80, they feel that they are badly treated and they naturally turn to the only persons that promise them heaven, and they think that possibly they might do something for them. This calamity has to be averted

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and the problem of teachers must be tackled so that the department can have a contented staff. Regarding the N.G.Os., some concessions have been given but they are not satisfied. I think that no one will be satisfied with his position and every one will want something more than what he has got. That is so with regard to any person in any sphere of life and it is not possible to satisfy all people. After all, our resources are limited and it is necessary that there must be some sort of adjustment. For that purpose, the Government must take some time and it has been promised in the Address that these things will be dealt with in the Address to be delivered in June next when we shall be meeting for the Budget, and the observations now made on the floor of the House may be relevant then."

3-15
p.m.

* SRI B. V. SUBRAHMANYAM:—"Mr. Chairman, Sir, I trust you will not without hearing me through, tick me off as tending to be irrelevant, if I start my observations this afternoon by recounting to this House how nearly two centuries ago there lived in England a very, very clever English poet who went by the name of Alexander Pope. Alexander Pope was a third-rate poet, but he was very clever—so clever that his life was one long and perpetual attempt to demonstrate to the other fellow, how much cleverer he was than the other fellow. And in fact he was cleverer than the other fellow. Cleverness was not what Alexander Pope lacked. What he lacked was imagination and character: the imagination to understand not merely the weak points of the other fellow but also his good points, and the character to fight straight even when the other fellow was not fighting straight. I have not had the fortune or misfortune, after I left college years ago, to recollect exactly what the features of the somewhat puzzling face of Alexander Pope were like, but I have a faint recollection that he looked somewhat indeed like the Hon'ble nominated Member who happens to be our Chief Minister to-day. It was said by one of his best admirers that, if Alexander Pope had at any time to take an evening walk, he always preferred—when he had to reach a place, and when there were two ways to reach that place—one the straight way and the other the crooked way—he always preferred the crooked way. It is this instinctive preference for the crooked path in certain high political quarters, which is the subject of my observations this afternoon. I may also preface my observations by stating that so far as I can understand, the Opposition does not intend to cast any aspersion on His Excellency the Governor who, after all, read out what was written out for him to read out by, I suppose, the Chief Minister or his Council of Ministers. As I said already, we do not wish to visit on His innocent Excellency the sins of his clever Chief Minister. Why do I say there is this instinctive preference for the crooked path in certain political quarters?

"I shall not repeat what has mostly been said elsewhere and in private discussions about the provisions of the Constitution with respect to what the Address of the Governor at the commencement of each session should contain. But without going into

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details, I may be permitted to state that in this context there are two provisions in the Constitution, Articles 175(1) and Article 176 (1), which deal with the rights and duties of whether it be the Governor or the Ministry or the Members of the Legislature. Article 175(1) says that the Governor may summon either House of the Legislature or both Houses together at any time. It does not say that it should be at any particular time either at the commencement of the session or thereafter. Article 176 (1) is more precise. If one takes care to read the marginal note next to Article 176 (1), which is as much a part of the Constitution as any other, one would find that the Address at the commencement of the session has been treated as a very special Address for reasons which will not be difficult to grasp for people who have any faith or belief in or understanding of democracy and its institutions. The commencement of a session is different from every other period or point of time during the session. And here again, I may point out, the words in Article 175 (1) are 'may address' and the words in Article 176 (1) are 'shall address', and the Address under Article 176 (1) is obligatory on the Governor. And there is one other feature that goes with the speciality of Article 176 (1), and that is this. It is only when a session of both Houses of the Legislature is summoned and the Governor is addressing them at the commencement of that session, that the Members of the Legislature have got the right to debate upon and to state whatever they have to state about the contents of that Address. If at any other point of time, for the purpose of passing a single isolated piece of legislation, the Governor summons the Houses of the Legislature together or any one House, the Legislature has not this right, and we can easily imagine certain people coming forward and saying that the legislature has not the right to debate upon this or that particular point within the Address as it is made only under Article 175 (1) and not under Article 176 (1). It is being said here that in any event the House or Houses will be 'summoned' again and there will be another sitting in June. A sitting is different from a session. A session is an entirety, while a sitting is a small isolated piece within the session. Now, the Address by the Governor under Article 175 (1) will not give the right to the hon. Members to debate upon the contents of that Address. I cannot conceive of the Hon. Chief Minister not having known this particular fact, because he is a lawyer himself. I cannot conceive of the whole Ministry not noticing this fact because the Ministry consists of a number of lawyers. I cannot conceive of the Chief Minister not having been told all this by his galaxy of talented legal advisers, and he has even been known to consult some professional architects of the Constitution when in doubt or trouble. Why, I ask, did he not make the Address cover the programme and policies for the entire period of the session. The answer is not difficult to find. The Chief Minister is thinking of his party ends only, and wants to gain time and does not want to break his own party strength or the number of his adherents by stating any policy of his too clearly at this stage. Indeed, it is this spirit, which really is a spirit of perverting the Constitution

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for the purpose of his own party ends, which makes men of my way of thinking wonder whether there are not walking in our midst, and talking in our midst, and sometimes even keeping silent in our midst, men with the mind of Hitler. Hitler, one should remember, was a man who tried to fight the Communists by flouting a Constitution. And we know where and how he ended. It is not by flouting the Constitution that you can fight the Communists. It is not by flouting democracy and its principles and institutions that you can fight the Communists. And it is not by disregarding the provisions of the Constitution that you can fight the Communists. Hitler failed, we know, because it was soon found that Hitler was a greater menace to democracy than the Communists. Otherwise Stalin, Churchill and Roosevelt would not have met at Yalta. It is this spirit of perversion which makes me wonder whether the Governor's Address is not the beginning of a milder reincarnation or a cheaper imitation of Hitler in our midst. We are not happy about this state of affairs. We cannot think peacefully of what would happen if again and again the provisions of the Constitution are lightly set aside like this. We cannot feel happy about the Governor's Address, because the Governor's Address is a subterfuge to work for party ends and against democracy and the institutions of democracy. And democracy cannot thank the Governor for an Address of that sort."

* SRI V. BASHYAM AYYANGAR :—" Mr. Chairman, Sir, I had not intended to take part in this discussion on the Governor's Address because I thought that the Address was only formal. As has been pointed out already by some hon. Members, this is only a preliminary address. It is to be followed by another address very shortly, in the next month, under Article 175 (1). This is stated in the Address itself. The amendments that have been proposed to the motion do not affect the questions raised in the Address. Many of the points covered by the amendments no doubt call for consideration. There is absolutely no doubt about that. There are many other matters also which have to be dealt with and done by the Government. A number of such points may be listed. But, to point out as regards an admittedly preliminary Address of the Governor, that certain matters have not been included and explained therein seems to me to be uncalled for and unnecessary.

" What exactly prompted me to rise to-day is not so much to speak on the motion that is before the House but the observation which has been made by one of the representatives of the teachers' constituency. He pleaded for greater benefits to be conferred on the teachers. On that point we may all agree. But he supported his appeal by saying that if there are not necessary funds for the purpose, Prohibition may be scrapped and the income which the repeal of Prohibition might bring may be used to advance the interests of the teaching profession. I take strong objection to that suggestion. As I said, I entirely agree with him when he says that teachers deserve our fullest consideration and sympathy. But why should he, in that connexion, suggest that Prohibition

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should be scrapped? I was very sorry to hear such a suggestion from one of the members belonging to the noble profession. In this connexion, let us remember the traditions of our country. Teaching was always free in this country. No teacher would insist on payment for the teaching imparted by him. Knowledge is a thing which could not be remunerated by any monetary standard. I think, it is very unfortunate for the inheritors of the noble culture and tradition of this land to suggest that Prohibition should be scrapped and that the money so obtained should be used for paying the teachers. Sir, I have had frequent opportunities of moving among the poorest of the poor in this country in the official capacity held by me till very recently. I have visited their hamlets and seen their conditions and I can say confidently that Prohibition has brought them immense good indeed. When I went to Nellore about a year ago during the Pongal festival, I visited a number of Yenadi hamlets. They were known to be very poor. They used to have no jewels before. They used to have not even good clothes before the introduction of Prohibition. But after the introduction of Prohibition, the Yenadi women were able to provide themselves with jewels and new clothes. They were celebrating the Pongal on a grand scale, unprecedented in the annals of their history. And that was all due to Prohibition. The women especially were very much pleased and happy indeed to have Prohibition. That being the case, I am very sorry to hear my friend, a member of a noble profession, say that Prohibition may be scraped. The main objection to Prohibition is said to be the loss of revenue to Government. I would request hon. Members to consider for a while, where all this revenue come from. Is it just to dupe the poorest of the poor and fleece money from them? Such being the case, I ask, whether an income of that sort to the State is worth having. Sir, these are the considerations which prompted me to rise in my seat on this occasion.

3-30
p.m.

“ Taking advantage of this opportunity I shall also make a few remarks about the famine relief work carried on in Rayalaseema. Besides Government officers and employees, there are also non-official organizations doing relief work in that area. Mr. S. R. Venkatraman who is a member of the Servants of India Society and is also connected with the Guild of Service and other social welfare organizations has already visited that area. He has extensively toured two of the famine-stricken districts. And we have first-hand information from him about the conditions in those districts and the nature of relief that are urgently called for in them.

“ Then, Sir, I have to make two suggestions. The first is that the relief centres in the famine-stricken areas should be opened not merely in big centres, but also in out-of-the way places, I mean, in remote village parts. The sufferings of the villagers there are not being properly attended to.— Those poor villagers have, it appears, to walk long distances to get relief. That is because famine relief centres have been opened only in important places. I would suggest that more centres of relief should be opened.

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Villagers should not have to walk long distances in order to get their gruel. At present, they have in some cases to walk five miles and even ten miles. I suggest that arrangements be made to supply the relief in their own villages or if that is not always possible, as near to their homes as possible.

"The second suggestion I wish to make is that the officials may be instructed to take the non-officials also into close confidence in arranging and distributing relief. There will be more co-ordination of work if non-official workers are taken into confidence. There are a large number of men and women who are willing to offer their services and who are willing to go to villages and work there. The Ramakrishna Mission, the Servants of India Society, the Harijan Sevak Sangh are all taking part in relief work. A representative of the Harijan Sevak Sangh is to be nominated as full-time worker in the famine-stricken area. His personal expenses will be borne by the Sangh. The Guild of Service has already its own branches and representatives in almost all the affected districts. I request Government to take advantage of the services offered by these organizations and expand the relief measures to remote villages also. With these words, Sir, I support the motion."

* SRI V. GURUNANDAN ROW :—"Mr. Chairman, Sir, I rise to oppose the motion, paradoxically enough on the same ground on which my hon. Friend, Mr. Balasubramania Ayyar, supported it, namely, not only for what the Governor's Address contains but also for what it does not contain. Mr. Chairman, Sir, let me take only the first two paragraphs of His Excellency the Governor's Address, as I have no time to deal with the entire Address. I shall be very careful in my remarks so that I may not be accused of having made mistakes. Sir, I shall take the first paragraph of the address. It says—

'Before I proceed further, I would like to express on behalf of our State our regret at the passing away of King George VI, the Head of the Commonwealth of which our Republic has elected to be a member'.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, I ask the Hon. Chief Minister, how is this State of Madras interested in the matter of the passing away of King George VI? I have searched everywhere in the Constitution of India for the word of 'Commonwealth' and I do not find that word anywhere in it. But I have found the words that India is 'a sovereign democratic republic' in it. I cannot understand how a Republic which is sovereign can consider anybody to be at its head, and much less, a monarch. In any case I submit there was no necessity for a State Government to refer to this matter. I understand this formed the subject-matter of a condolence resolution in the last Assembly. Sir, this matter, if at all it should be brought forward, it is for the Central Government, who can speak for the whole of India to do so.

"Then, Sir, as regards the second paragraph of the Address of His Excellency the Governor, it gives us a piece of advice about the evolution of sound democratic traditions. I should say,

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'Woe unto Democracy' if we are to follow the traditions which are set before us by the present Government ! For we have set up a tradition of having a nominated member as Chief Minister ! I ask you, Sir, in which country does that system obtain. The system of democracy implies that everybody in a legislative body should be elected and more especially the leader. But, here, Sir, we have a leader a nominated person, who represents no constituency whatsoever ; perhaps I may say he represents the Governor. Surely, nobody would say that this is a sound tradition to be followed ! Then, Sir, on the 6th of May we have had a fine scene of sound traditions being established here ! For, on the day of the inauguration of the session of the Assembly the surroundings of the Assembly Buildings were made into a military camp with steel-helmeted policemen posted at every vantage point. Surely nobody would say that such an environment was meant to encourage free and frank discussion. It would only overawe people and strike terror in their hearts. Sir, I ask, 'Is this the way of setting up sound traditions of democracy?' The order under section 144 was issued only for gagging the people and preventing them from assembling and staging demonstrations. The Hon. Chief Minister said this morning that the staging of political demonstrations is the normal way of doing things by political parties, and it is in order to prevent that, the order under section 144 was issued. In doing so, why should they make the whole place a military camp?

"Then, Sir, I come to my next point. It was only last night I read the true policy of the Government, or rather I should say, of the Chief Minister. It is a policy from A to Z, and that policy is of fighting the Communist Party. Sir, I say, I am not very much concerned with the fight against the Communist Party. For it is not a new thing to hear of a Government out to fight the Communist Party. Mr. Hitler, or rather I should say Herr Hitler, Tojo and Chiangkai Shaik, all these people, have in the past taken up this role of the saviour of the people from the Communists. So this is not the first time we hear of fighting the Communists. And hon. Members know the fate of these men ! Mr. Chairman, Sir, I am much obliged to the Chief Minister for the announcement of his policy ; because it may gladden the heart of Mr. Truman, Mr. Churchill, the blackmarketers and other people to hear that the Chief Minister has to-day assumed the role of a fighter of the Communists. But, Sir, I do not understand the real purpose of his saying this. For the people in the country are not concerned about the fate of the Communist Party or any other party. What the people are concerned with to-day are food, clothing and shelter. They are concerned with getting the necessities of life. Now, on that point, what is the A to Z policy of the Government? When the people are asking for bread, Government do not even give them stone but throw the same at the Communists. If is to hide their bankruptcy of policy, it is to cover up that situation, this Government is making the crusade against the Communists. As I said earlier, this crusade is not a new thing for the Communists.

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Several countries in the past have tried this and failed. Can the Chief Minister tell us the things he is going to do for the people? I do not mind his exterminating the Communists, if only such extermination would do good to the people. Can he here and now tell us what he is going to do for the people? It is no good saying that he is going to fight this political party or that political party. A mere negative policy is no use; a policy of positive action is what is wanted. Unless, that comes forth, a mere negative policy can do nobody any good. So do not hoodwink the people by saying that your policy is to fight the Communists.

“Lastly, Sir, I have only one remark to make. If really the Government are earnest in doing anything good to the people, let them take the wind out of the sails of the United Democratic Front and implement their programme. I challenge them to do it. It is not as if we are opposing the Government because it is the Congress Party that is in power. The present Government have no policy. If at all they have any policy, it is a reactionary policy—it is not what is wanted now. What is wanted now is a policy which will give adequate food, clothing and shelter to the people.”

* MRS. M. N. CLUBWALA :—“Mr. Chairman, Sir, I would like in the first instance to congratulate ourselves on our having the Hon. Mr. C. Rajagopalachari as Chief Minister of our State. We are indeed fortunate to have a gentleman of his experience and ability to pilot our State, and under his Chief Ministership many improvements will be on the way.

“While congratulating the Hon. Chief Minister and his Cabinet and assuring them of our support I am disappointed—as I am sure hundreds of women are, that no lady member has been chosen as Minister. I hope this omission will not in any way stand in the way of women being appointed on Governmental committees dealing with the welfare of the State. I think my misgivings in this direction may be wrong—in view of the very fact that His Excellency the Governor and the Hon. Chief Minister have nominated three leading women to the Council and this is an indication of the usefulness and the power that the women hold in the field of social work.

“His Excellency in his Address has paid a tribute to the work of the Army. Sir, during the five years of my work in the last Council I have all along pleaded for the cause of the servicemen and ex-servicemen. After the necessities of the moment are satisfied, the servicemen and ex-servicemen are forgotten, e.g., I quote the concession money set aside for building ex-servicemen's centres in all the districts. There are centres in some districts but in other cases the Government have not provided the land for building the centres . . .

“I plead that recognition and help be given to the servicemen and ex-servicemen in the same measure as is given by the Government to civilians. The work done by them in Rayalaseema famine areas is proof of their ability to come to our aid in all times of distress and need.

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" Now, Sir, I would like to turn to other requests. I hope we will have the opportunity of discussing the budget shortly and so I shall be brief. I would request the Government to take up the bills which were in the process of being introduced in the last legislature. I refer to the work done by the two committees—the committee for the amendment of the Madras Children's Act and the committee for the amendment of the Suppression of Immoral Traffic Act. The members of these committees have gone into all the details of these Bills and we were much disappointed that neither of these Bills was introduced in the legislature. I hope, Sir, that both these Bills will be taken out of the shelves in which I am sure they are finding a place, and will be reconsidered by a freshly appointed committee.

" One word of criticism I would like to offer. In connection with the Children's Bill those who are dealing with this work from day-to-day in the Juvenile Court were not represented. In the past the Government used to call the Secretaries and Presidents of the organizations dealing with this work, and the people who did practical work, for an informal discussion before the Bill was drafted. On the Committee were appointed people who knew the work. But this was not the case in connection with the new Madras Children's Bill in which there were some clauses which were highly unsatisfactory, e.g., the whipping clause. I hope in the new Committee there will be a representative who knows this work.

" I know, Sir, it was this Hon. Chief Minister who introduced Prohibition, and in spite of the many criticisms against Prohibition, I know that a certain section of the people have benefited. I am, however, alarmed, Sir, as I have said previously, at the increase in the production of illicit liquor by grown-ups, and the using of boys and girls in the preparation and use of this illicit liquor. In the Juvenile Court we are dealing with several cases and these children are not only drinking the liquor but are becoming addicts. I hope, Sir, our Chief Minister will introduce measures to stop this menace that saps the youth of our country. I am much interested in the youth of our country and am anxious to build a strong nation of young men so that the people of our country may be physically fit and well-educated. I am not satisfied with the steps taken in this direction; there are not enough avenues for the improvement of the youth of our country except scouting and guiding, to channelize the services of the youth.

" Lastly, Sir, may I plead with the Government for greater support to welfare agencies? I am all for welfare agencies carrying on work on their own initiative. The patronage of the Government and in certain instances a token grant will go a long way towards greater stability and greater goodwill. The previous Government were gracious enough to help worthy causes with patronage. I am sure, our Hon. Chief Minister who is a great social worker and a friend of the needy will give the lead which I know he advocated when he visited the Madras State as Governor-General and that he as Chief Minister will associate himself very much with

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the welfare work in the State. I may say that the welfare workers will offer their full support to the Government in matters of social reform.

"In conclusion, I wish to thank His Excellency the Governor and the Hon. the Chief Minister for having nominated me to this House."

3-45
P.m.

* SRI V. CHAKKARAI CHETTY :—“ Mr. Chairman, Sir, I shall be as brief as His Excellency's speech. My friend Mr. Bhashyam is not fair when he made a statement that according to the British practice, a Member of the Upper House could become the Chief Minister. During the last 40 to 45 years, so far as I know, there has not been a single Member of the House of Lords who has been the Prime Minister of England. There was once a talk of Lord Curzon of India fame being made the Prime Minister. But, it was found by constitutional pandits that he could not become Prime Minister and so another gentleman became Prime Minister, though he was inferior to Lord Curzon politically and morally and in literary ability. I think the last Prime Minister who was from the House of Lords was Lord Salisbury, more than eighty years ago. Therefore, it seems to me that my friend has erred in his historical analogy.

"Then, Sir, I would like to make a few observations which, I believe, must have struck some of the hon. Members in this House and some outside the House too. After all, the Governor's speech is analogous to the speech from the Throne when he opens Parliament. But, that is an antiquated custom coming down to us. When the King was all in all, his Ministers were not the Ministers of the people, but the Ministers of the King. The word 'Minister' does not mean *manthri*, but only a servant of the King carrying out the orders of the King. Unfortunately, our Constitution has followed the British traditions; not only that, we are following in the footsteps of British traditions. We are not going to establish our own traditions and conventions. We are following the traditions of our past masters and because we have been associated with them for a century or more, we cannot help following the same feudal traditions of the British monarch.

"Sir, as I read through the Address, I was rather struck by the meagreness, dryness or barrenness of it. The Address is as barren and dry as the barren, rainless fields of Rayalaseema. There is nothing in the Address to comfort the hearts of our ryots or the suffering masses of our country. Well, the measures taken for giving relief to famine areas have been dealt with at considerable length. Sir, I listened to the broadcast by Mr. Chettur whose speech was more eloquent and more literary. Then, what are these measures that are being taken by the Government? They are mere palliatives. They are not going to remedy the root causes of the recurring famines in our country. The gruel centres, as they are called, ought to be characterised as *cruel* centres. Let not the people of our country be thrown to the tender mercies of the Government and their officers. It is really a tragedy in this land

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of plenty. My friend the late poet Bharathi said 'that this is a land of milk and honey where every one must be a king'. But, what are we seeing in Rayalaseema to-day? We find thousands of people in dire poverty and starvation. We have been told again and again of cases of our sisters selling their chastity for the sake of their children. Sir, we have come to such a pass after five years of glorious rule by the Congress! I am not blaming the original founders of the Congress nor our great leader Mahatma Gandhi under whose leadership we have fought and won freedom. But, what has changed the Congress during the last five years? I have been connected with elections during the last three or four months and I know what the people feel about the Congress all over the State, whether in Tiruchirappalli or Madras or any other place. In fact, they have no love for communism because they know very little of communism, or as much as the Chief Minister knows to-day. I am not a communist nor a leading member of the Communist Party. The Communists are very able people and they will take care of themselves. Therefore, it does not seem alarming to hear that our Chief Minister has listed himself as Enemy No. 1 of the Communist Party. I remember reading in the newspapers some years ago the Prime Minister of India saying that he was almost a Communist and that he was enamoured of Communism and its philosophy. To-day he does not like it and is not in favour of it.

"Coming to the point, Sir, what is the ultimate remedy for all these famines? Some of my friends wanted to resort to prayer to Varuna to send rains. But, unfortunately, in this land famines are recurring. Sir, the root cause of these famines is that the ordinary labourer does not own land. Unless the land goes to the landless labourer and the tiller we will have these famines recurring. All these palliatives like gruel centres, irrigation projects and subsidies for digging wells, are only temporary. But the final solution is giving the land to the tiller of the soil and making him feel that he is the lord of his land. That seems to be the only way out.

'Sir, I have got only one more thing to mention. I have been 4 p.m. for many years connected with the Trade Union and labour movements in our country. There has been a lot of talk about the handloom weavers. I have also presided over many conferences of the handloom weavers and I think the fundamental defect lies in the fact that the ordinary handloom weaver does not get sufficient yarn. Somehow or other the yarn that is produced in our big mills like the Harvey Mills of Madurai, the Buckingham and Carnatic Mills of Madras and the Coimbatore Mills unfortunately disappears—evaporates as it were into thin air—and appears at places other than those where the handloom weavers live. The handloom weavers do not get sufficient yarn and even if they get sufficient yarn the people are not prepared to buy that cloth. Plenty of these handloom products are lying in the various shops. The people have not got sufficient money to buy cloth. Take my own case. I have never been inside a shop to purchase cloth during the last two or three years. Even the so-called middle-classes are finding it difficult to

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buy cloth. I know that the Hon. Chief Minister is being overwhelmed with requests and if he were to satisfy all these demands it would take more than the five years of his Chief Ministership. In spite of our many political differences, I hope that the Chief Minister will be able to do something. As my hon. Friend Mr. V. Gurunandan Row put it, it does not matter whether one belongs to the Communist Party or the Congress Party as long as the people are satisfied and are able to get at least one meal a day and two pieces of cloth. If our Hon. Chief Minister is able to do that, I shall certainly support him wholeheartedly though we might have many other differences."

* SRI N. SATYANARAYANA :—" Mr. Chairman, Sir, I wish to associate myself with Mr. Sitarama Dass and Mr. Parameswaran in thanking the Governor for his Address. His Excellency has aptly placed two problems before us, viz., the farmer's plight and the weaver's plight. These are the two problems that require immediate attention not only in our State but throughout the whole country. Our revered Master and Guru, Mahatma Gandhi, always placed these two problems in the forefront before the country. He identified himself with the farmer and the weaver. It is but right that the Government have placed these two problems before us. As regards the farmers, Sir, the Government are giving them their due. In Rayalaseema and other famine-stricken areas they are giving them remission of rent and extension of time for repayment of takkavi loans. The Government are rendering them all the help that is possible and other welfare associations are also co-operating with the Government in redressing the grievances of the ryots.

" Sir, I want to place only one fact before the Government. It is true no doubt that they have postponed the collection of takkavi loans. But, as a member of the co-operative movement, I should like to point out that there are 14 land mortgage banks in Rayalaseema alone and 20 land mortgage banks in the districts of North Arcot, South Arcot, Coimbatore, Nellore and Guntur where parts of the district have been affected by famine. In these areas the members of the co-operative land mortgage banks have to pay instalment dues of 10 lakhs of rupees to the primary land mortgage banks. If these arrear instalments are not collected the debenture-holders will not get their money. The Government have guaranteed these debentures to the tune of five crores of rupees. Now the Central Land Mortgage Bank is in a miserable plight as the farmers are not able to pay their instalments to the primary land mortgage banks and the primary mortgage banks are unable to pay their instalments to the Central Land Mortgage Bank and the Central Land Mortgage Bank in turn will not be able to pay the debenture-holders. Ten lakhs of rupees will fall overdue in famine districts. If every member is asked to sell away his property and pay the money due, the plight of the farmers will be still more miserable. I therefore submit to the Government that a revolving fund of Rs. 10 lakhs should be created and given to the Central Land Mortgage

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Bank. After all, it is not a charity. It is only a loan and if this loan is given all the members who have borrowed money will be able to pay off their debts in the course of the next four or five years. It is only an extension of the time given for repayment of the loan. Sir, we know the plight of the ryot. Darling, the great Economist, has described it as follows : ' The Indian ryot is born in debt, lives in debt, dies in debt and bequeaths debt '. Now, Sir, if the ryot in Rayalaseema is not given this accommodation his plight will become still more miserable. The Central Government have given Rs. 2 crores to help the agriculturists in Rayalaseema and other famine areas. The local Government have given an extension of time for the collection of takkavi loans. It is therefore in the fitness of things, as aptly stated in the Governor's Address, that the miserable plight of the ryot must be immediately attended to and the Government should go to the rescue of the ryots. I, therefore, appeal to the Government to immediately start a revolving fund and give relief to the ryots of Rayalaseema and other famine-stricken districts.

" Even this relief would only amount to tinkering with the problem of the ryot in Rayalaseema. We have to solve the problem of the agriculturists in Rayalaseema by giving them better water facilities. That can only be done by harnessing the waters of the rivers Krishna and Godavari. Let us not fight over giving priority to this or that project. Ninety-five per cent of the waters of the Godavari and 87.5 per cent of the waters of the Krishna are going into the sea. We have already exhausted 95 per cent of the waters of the Cauvery and it cannot be exploited any more. The only waters available are those of the Godavari and Krishna. If these rivers are harnessed and reservoirs are built there will be no more famine in South India. South India may even be able to provide food for North India. Just as Bhagiratha brought the Ganges from the Himalayas and Gauthama brought the Godavari, the Madras Ministry and its Engineers should find ways and means to utilize the waters of these two great rivers, the Godavari and the Krishna. The famine problem could be solved only by adopting such a long range policy and not by any other short range policy.

" I would like to mention, Sir, one more point about the weavers. For the last one and a half months I have been touring in Rayalaseema. The plight of the handloom weavers is very miserable. I submit, Sir, that this problem of the weavers could not be solved merely by having more yarn from the mills. We are failing to do one thing, viz., to link up the spinner and the weaver. Mahatmaji had always been warning us not to depend for our yarn on the mills or on imported yarn from foreign countries. I have seen lakhs of charkas lying idle. There is cotton available in the Rayalaseema districts and there are women ready to take to spinning. I have seen women begging in the streets and I have also seen them breaking stones and earning three and a half annas per day. On the other hand, I have seen women earning 6 annas a day by spinning either under the associations run by the Rural Welfare Department or the All-India Spinners Association. There are one lakh charkas

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available in the Rayalaseema area and ten thousand charkas are available in each of the taluks of Tadpatri, Proddatur and Owk alone. There is plenty of cotton and thousands of women are available and willing to take to spinning. If only these charkas had been kept going many of the troubles of Rayalaseema weavers would have been removed long ago. The Rural Welfare Department should pay proper attention to this subject, and its hands should be strengthened adequately. After all this scheme did not entail any additional expenditure to Government. It is enough if the Minister in charge of Co-operation sends a note to the Registrar of Co-operative Societies to send the army of Inspectors under the Registrar to go to the villages and organize co-operative spinners societies, purchase cotton with the money advanced by the Central Bank, take it to the women and have it spun into yarn. Marketing is also easy as the multi-purpose co-operative societies can easily undertake this work.

"I would like to conclude, Sir, by summing up that it is only by harnessing the Godavari and the Krishna rivers that the distress of the agriculturists could be relieved and it is also only by uniting the weaver and the spinner that the plight of the weaver could be easily alleviated by co-operative organization and Governmental help. No money need be spent by Government except for the organizational work as the Central Co-operative Bank would finance the spinners and the weavers. With this humble appeal, Sir, I support this proposition."

* THE HON. SRI C. SUBRAMANIAM :—"Mr. Chairman, Sir, it is with a certain amount of hesitation that I venture to address this House. This Council consists of men with ripe experience, men distinguished in many walks of life and also men clever in the field of law like my hon. Friend Mr. B. V. Subrahmanyam, and Mr. V. Gurunandan Rao who is now not in his seat. Sir, the biggest political event that has happened in recent times in our State is the coming back of our revered leader, Rajaji to Madras politics (hear, hear)."

"This political event, Sir, has given rise to various far reaching repercussions. To understand these repercussions we should analyse the sense of frustration that existed in this State after the General Elections. No party had a majority—an absolute majority—in the Legislative Assembly. The single party which had won the highest number of seats was the Congress with 152 members. We thought we could keep back and give a chance to others, if possible, to form the Government. You, Sir, might have noticed that the statements made by the various leaders of the Congress, if they had any effect at all, only drove away members from joining the Congress Party. We did not want to encourage the independents into the belief that we would take them into our fold. It was in that atmosphere that we wanted to give a chance to the other parties to try their best and, if possible, secure a majority and form the Government. In spite of our keeping back from this canvassing to gather strength, what was the strength which the other party was able to gather with all sorts of alliances—I do not want to say unholy?

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We heard that only 166 people were prepared to join as a party with the Communists to form a Government. As our revered and learned friend, Janab Mahomed Usman, put it, it could only mean that all the others were against these Communists. So the state of affairs in this State was that there was no party which was in a position to form the Government. There was frustration not only amongst the Members of the Legislature but also among the public. In order to save the people from this frustration, the Congress Party requested Rajaji to accept the leadership, and he acceded to their request. My hon. Friend Sri Govinda Menon referred to what my leader Rajaji had said, namely, that his (Rajaji) coming back to the politics of this State was his downfall. As far as he is concerned, it is so, Sir. We all know what has been stated in the Gita. It is said there that whenever it is necessary, God comes down to the earth to save humanity, and as far as God is concerned it is His 'downfall', though He comes down with a specific purpose. So also it might be a 'downfall' as far as Rajaji was concerned, but that 'downfall' was for the purpose of saving this State from the calamities which were awaiting it. Sir, this event of his coming back to the politics of this State has resulted in giving a new turn to the state of affairs in this State and in the country. It has infused a new hope in the people. Frustration is no longer to be found among the people. This new hope which has been created in the people has caused some frustration among certain other sections of the people and that has been evident in the bitter speeches made by some hon. Members on the other side of this House. Nothing more than that has happened. The frustration of the people has ceased; but frustration has seized some other groups here. That is what we find manifested on the floor of this House.

“ My hon. Friend, Sri B. V. Subrahmanyam, referring to the Address delivered by His Excellency the Governor, quoted two Articles in the Constitution. I would like to remind him that I had also taken part in the framing of the Constitution and I know the various Articles in it and know their meaning. It is not as if the Members of the Government are not aware of the fact that when a Governor delivers his Address under Article 175 (1) that Address cannot be the subject-matter of discussion in this House. But, Sir, it has been specifically pointed out in His Excellency's Address that the June sitting will be for the purpose of the consideration of the Budget, and when the Budget is taken up for consideration, the entire field of administration can be covered during the general debate on the Budget. As a matter of fact, the discussion on His Excellency's Address is confined to matters referred to in the Address, but the scope of discussion on the Budget estimates is much wider. Therefore it is stated in the Address itself—those who care to read it may find it stated so—that the Members will have an opportunity of discussing the entire aspect of Governmental activities when the Legislature meets in June for the consideration of the Budget. In spite of that, Sir, we have been accused of not taking notice of Articles

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175 (1) and 176 (1) of the Constitution and that even if we had taken notice of them, of not having understood them. I will leave that matter at that.

I am glad Sri Rajeswara Rao is back in his seat, as I wish to refer to some of the points raised by him in the course of the debate. He said that Rajaji had declared a war on the Communist Party. The Communists know only one war and that is 'liquidation' by force. But our war is not such a war. Our war is not against Sri Rajeswara Rao. Our war is not directed against any member of the Communist Party. Our war is against the ideology of the Communist Party which is based on violence and hatred and which thrives on famine, hunger and poverty. We do not believe in violence—in exterminating people by violence. We believe in fighting the ideology of the Communist Party which is based on violence and hatred. We know this is only the negative aspect of our policy as was referred to by Sri Rajeswara Rao. We have also a positive side of it and the positive side is this. Wherever there is poverty, wherever there is famine, wherever there is ignorance, Communists thrive. They are interested in the spreading of famine, poverty and difficult conditions for their own selfish ends. I can say that with all the emphasis at my command. Where conditions are not difficult, they exaggerate them in the press and on the platforms. Therefore we want to root out those conditions which enable communism to thrive. On the negative side we are going to have a war against the ideology of the Communist Party. On the positive side, our policy is going to be a war against illiteracy, famine, poverty and ignorance. Therefore let not my Communist friends be under the impression that because my leader Rajaji has declared a war against the Communists, they should protect themselves against any physical injury to their person. Let my friends understand that our war is directed against their ideology and against those conditions under which they flourish.

"Sir, I have been listening to the speeches made by some Members who advocated that the concessions granted to the Non-Gazetted officers should be extended to the teachers also. My hon. Friend Mr. Alexander Gnanamuttu pleaded that education should be made compulsory and free from the infant standard to the B.A. class. He also suggested that Prohibition might be scrapped if necessary for carrying out the above reform. As a Finance Minister, I am not interested in the moral aspect of the question. I look at it from the point of view of how it would affect the people of the State on the financial side, on the taxation side. Sir, you will allow me to read out some figures showing how this income from the excise duty was derived by the Government when there was no Prohibition. I am reading from the budget estimates for 1947-48: Revenue derived from country spirits—Rs. 617 lakhs; from country fermented liquors, i.e., toddy—Rs. 848 lakhs; from malt liquors like beer—Rs. 7.86 lakhs and from wines and other foreign liquors—Rs. 73.83 lakhs. We find from the above figures that a sum of about Rs. 8½ crores was derived as Excise revenue

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from the sale of toddy alone. Who are the persons who were paying it? The poor people for whom my hon. Friends are all pleading. Do the hon. Members want that we should fleece these people to the tune of 8½ crores of rupees by scrapping Prohibition? After the introduction of Prohibition, we have introduced the sales tax. Under this tax we are collecting about 16 to 17 crores of rupees. Where does this money come from? It is from the people. If the hon. Members want Prohibition to be scrapped, they want another 16 or 17 crores of rupees to be collected. It is not as if somebody else is paying this amount if Prohibition is scrapped. We have to derive this income from the people and the poorer sections of the people will have to pay more unfortunately by way of Excise tax to the tune of 8 or 9 crores of rupees. Therefore I will ask my hon. friends who talk about scrapping of Prohibition whether they are prepared to advise Government to scrap Prohibition and get 8 or 9 crores of rupees more from the poor people. I do not find my hon. friend Mr. Alexander Gnanamuttu here. I hope he will consider what I have said and give us proper advice.

“ Then Sir, I would like to say a few words with regard to the food policy. It has been said by many hon. Members here and also outside that the procurement policy of the Government is a source of harassment to the producers of food. I also do realise it, especially when my hon. Friends from the district of Malabar come and plead for the levy system. As a matter of fact, it is I who advocated this levy system and fought for it and had it introduced in the district of Coimbatore. Therefore hon. Members may take it that I view this suggestion with all sympathy. I hope the hon. Members will not expect me to make a declaration here whether we are going to introduce the levy system or not. We are prepared to examine the entire position and whatever is good for the people will be done, as it will not be to our interest to harass people who are producing food for our country. With regard to the free movement of foodgrains also we have been receiving petition after petition and representation after representation that there should be free movement of foodgrains. It is very easy to say that. Hon. Members should realise the other factors involved. As soon as free movement of food is allowed . . . ”

SRI M. P. GOVINDA MENON :—“ Within the district.”

* THE HON. SRI C. SUBRAMANIAM :—“ I think there is free movement except in the statutorily rationed areas. There are people who say that there should be free movement of foodgrains throughout the State. There are others who say that the movement of food should be free even within the zonal system which was introduced in certain districts due to the peculiar circumstances prevailing there. (Interruptions.) This zonal system was introduced with a purpose. Suppose we relax the entire control over the movement of foodgrains, there will be a tendency for the

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foodgrains to flow towards those areas where there is greater purchasing power, and the people in areas where there is no purchasing power will have to starve. We have, therefore, to strike a balance and see how far we can relax control over the movement of foodgrains. So, when we consider this question, we will examine it in all its aspects and do what is in the best interests of the poor man and not what is in the interest of the big landlord or the big merchant.

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"A reference was made to the slowing down of the Malampuzha project. To those who would question what are the achievements of the Government, I would say they are these, namely, Tungabhadra, Lower Bhavani and Malampuzha Projects. But my hon. friends who want to oppose us would not recognize these. If the Malampuzha Project was slowed down, it was because we had to consider the entire State as a whole and decide the order of priorities. We could not take Malabar district alone into consideration, as an entity by itself, and consider that this was the only project that should be proceeded with. But as a Government responsible for the governance of the State we have to take an over-all view and with the limited resources in our hands consider which project should be given priority and which would yield the greatest results in the shortest time. Applying that test we do not want just now to spend money on projects which cannot give immediate results. It was therefore inevitable that the Malampuzha Project should be slowed down and it was not because the State Government did not care for the interests of Malabar. As the Hon. Chief Minister pointed out, Malabar has got the greatest amount of rainfall. They enjoy nature's bounty; they have got rain. Not only that, but on an examination of the various projects from an engineering point of view and from their financial implications, and the benefits expected from them, it was found that we should proceed expeditiously with the Tungabhadra Project and the Lower Bhavani Project and that the Malampuzha can wait for some time. It has not been allowed to stay where it was. As a matter of fact steps have been taken to get money for the Malampuzha Project and I understand that the work is going on as before."

SRI M. P. GOVINDA MENON :—"Will the Hon. Minister consider the suggestions I made about the funds available? I only suggest that it may be considered."

* THE HON. SRI C. SUBRAMANIAM :—"The suggestion has been made, Sir, and as a matter of fact, we would welcome any suggestion which would bring us some money for the purpose of meeting our expenditure. If that suggestion will yield results, I will, as the Finance Minister, gladly jump at it, but now, Sir, I am unable to say what the implications are and what the impediments are. I am, therefore, unable to give an answer straightway because the proposition has not been properly examined and I assure the House that as far as this Government are concerned,

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the welfare of the people will be the main and sole criterion and we shall try to achieve it not by violence, not by revolutionary methods, not by the liquidation of opponents but by the Gandhian method, by non-violent and peaceful methods. With the co-operation of the people and with the co-operation of this House, I hope that this Government will find their way to work for the welfare of the people of the State."

* SRI P. SEETHARAMAYYA :—" Mr. Chairman, Sir, I have moved the following amendment to the motion for thanks to His Excellency :—

' Add the following at the end :—

" but regret to express our entire dissatisfaction that your Government have failed—

(i) to uphold the principles of democratic system of Government;

(ii) to envisage the policies and programmes for the amelioration of the common man of rural areas and for the development of the State; and

(iii) to take any steps whatsoever for bringing pressure on the Central Government for the early formation of linguistic States."

" The amendment placed before you for acceptance is a straight and simple one. It is also a far-reaching one. It is aimed at finding out where our professed democratic principles are leading us and how we have started putting them into practice. The question which we have to put to ourselves is : ' Are correct democratic methods being followed by those to whom the working of the State Constitution is entrusted? Are the foundations of this infant democracy being properly laid? ' Our Constitution is a patch work of different constitutions of other States. We are told that it is the quintessence of all democratic constitutions. Written constitutions can possibly be worked most satisfactorily provided democratic-minded men are in charge of its working.

" We have reconciled ourselves to this constitution as we have given it to ourselves by a Constituent Assembly. We have felt that it has great potentialities and that if it is placed in the hands of genuine democrats who have a faith in democratic methods and in the destiny of India, true traditions of democratic governance, and unwritten rules of constitutional propriety will gradually develop to supply the life-breath to the skeleton of the written words in the Constitution and that it will enable people to have peace, plenty and prosperity. It was a matter of pride for the State of Madras that one of its eminent sons should have adorned the Imperial gadi as the first Governor-General of India, when Bharat got her independence and the Constituent Assembly met and drafted the Constitution. He has watched with care and attention the discussions of the august Assembly and he is well aware of the spirit behind every provision of the Constitution. It is also the fortune of this State that he was specially chosen to adorn the Treasury Benches

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in the Centre in the interim period before the Republican Constitution of India started working. We have, therefore, a right by virtue of his eminence, age, experience, and his past services ever since the national struggle for the independence of India started in 1921 under the banner of the Saint of Sabarmati, to expect him to follow the highest traditions of democracy. We the rank and file, marched under the banner of Congress then, because of him who led the Indian National Congress, because of him who with his movement for political freedom was responsible for an over-all Indian Renaissance, because of him who was responsible for lifting the moral level of public life to unprecedented heights, because of him who taught us to get rid of the slavish mentality and adoption of foreign ideologies, because of him who showed us the new path of non-violent resistance to everything unjust and anti-national from whatever source or quarter it came. To those who were his lieutenants we looked with fond hope to spread his message and we have a right to look to them. In those in whom he kept his faith for the ultimate realization of his conception of Hind Swaraj, we have also kept faith. But it is the misfortune of the people, that his lieutenants never believed in his philosophy of life, in his political ideologies, and in his conception of economic emancipation. His name to-day is used to enhance the prestige of an institution through which he has worked but which has lost every virtue which it had laid claim to and which it has fought for. The Constitution has come, but it is sought to be converted into a constitution that keeps men who call themselves Congressmen as the irremovable sole governing class in the realm.

"It is a historic occasion in the lives of the hon. Members that they should get a chance to sit in one of the first elected legislatures in the New Republic of India. It is on this Legislature that a heavy responsibility lies to lay the firm foundation for the guidance of the future and to give to posterity the best traditions of a well-ordered Legislature to function and carry on the Government of the country. It is the best safeguard to enable the Constitution to be worked on truly democratic lines, and to justify it as a satisfactory system to express the will and the sovereign authority of the people.

"Five years of the Congress Party's rule, their corruption, their bribery, their nepotism and their power-mad misdeeds have made the entire Government machinery from the village bariki or talayaries up to the highest executive officers, to learn the art of dishonesty and corruption. On account of the degrading depths to which they had forced the ordinary common man to stoop, for getting the daily food, clothing and shelter by their system of controls, rationing, licences and permits and the consequent encouragement given to the black marketer, it will take another generation for able administrators to solve the problems consequent on the degenerate state of things which the Congress Party has been responsible for. If there was anything in this part of the country which was responsible for the stunning success of the Communist Party, and the great landslide in their favour,

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hon. Members must realize that it was the Congress Party's excesses and brutalities, the mass persecutions and harassments which the Congress Partymen in power got perpetrated for their own selfish ends. There is no party in this part of the country which is more communal and reactionary or more governed by political opportunism than the Congress Party. They will tell you that to their credit stand the programmes of prohibition and zamindari abolition. They will also tell you of their innumerable irrigation schemes which are under investigation even after five years. Simple matters which could be solved on some agreed principles have been subjected to endless legal processes which cannot be justified by any principles of equity, justice and good conscience. **Neither the tenant nor the zamindar feels that justice is done.** Take the case of prohibition. No one can raise his voice against prohibition on a moral plane, but the Prohibition department is a huge waste of public money, a menace to the peaceful public, a gang that lives on the gratification given by illicit traffickers and an army of agents used by persons in power for party ends.

"Our Constitution begins by saying 'We, the People of India, having solemnly resolved to constitute India into a Sovereign Democratic Republic and to secure to all its citizens :

JUSTICE, social, economic and political;

LIBERTY of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship;

EQUALITY of status and of opportunity; and promote among them all.

FRATERNITY assuring the dignity of the individual and the unity of the Nation.'

"It has in Part III enunciated what the Constituent Assembly conceived to be the Fundamental Rights of the common man—equality before law, equality of opportunity, freedom of speech, of assembly, of free movement, and right to personal property and right to practise any profession or carry on any occupation,—which have to be exercised subject to the powers of the State to make any law imposing reasonable restrictions on the exercise of the rights, in the interests of the security of the realm or public order, decency or morality. Article 21 says that no person shall be deprived of his life or personal liberty except according to the procedure established by law. Let the Congress Party which has again been installed in power under the ignoble circumstances which I will refer to later, search its conscience and say whether it has stood by the Congress resolutions of the pre-Independence days, and its oft repeated professions in their Congress sessions for over a quarter of a century, if not more. Can it say that the fundamental rights guaranteed by the Constitution and for which it has fought, have been honoured by the party during the last five years of its rule? What freedom is there if in the name of law and order you can detain men behind iron bars for years together without trial and without an open charge? What freedom is there if innocent men can be maltreated and inhumanly dealt with on a mass scale for suspected sheltering of persons who

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differed in their political ideologies and methods? What freedom is there for the ordinary citizen when he is tied to a tree and shot at by the guardians of law, and garbled official versions are broadcast, that they are fleeing culprits who are shot at? Please let it not be understood that in raising this voice of protest, I am espousing the cause of any one and much less the Communists, if it were true that they have no respect for human personality, and that their conception of a democratic Government is the establishment of an irremovable party dictatorship by means of massacres, loot, arson and mass terrorization. In such a case they are no more than ordinary criminals and they deserve deterrent punishment in accordance with the criminal law of the realm. Do you conscientiously believe that the public conscience of the huge mass of adults to whom suffrage has been granted is so deadened, their moral sense so distorted, their sense of discrimination so undermined that they have elected known criminals? The verdict of the people is a down-right condemnation of the Congress Governmental approach to the alleged deeds of Communist violence and the other human problems but it is not the acceptance by the people of any creed of violence. It is a verdict that this Congress Party in this State is incapable of protecting the freedoms envisaged and guaranteed under the Constitution. The K.M.P. Party came in because the people did not want violence. The K.M.P. candidates have defeated the ex-Ministers and the Independents and the K.L.P. people. This, Sir, is a Welfare State. The Constitution lays down directive principles which are as fundamental as the fundamental rights are. They supply the motive force or they are intended to supply that motive force for all laws which the State may pass in relation to the needs of people for food and shelter, the material resources of the realm, the economic re-adjustments in the body politic, the health of its citizens, its responsibilities to labour, agriculture, education, judiciary and international relationship. Foodgrains controls, licensing and permit systems, transport restrictions, our prohibition laws, our laws relating to the upliftment of Harijans and depressed classes and endless ever-changing educational rules and schemes have to seek their justification in the directive principles. Let every one of the Hon. Ministers examine the course which these laws and rules have taken and how they are administered. They smack of utter incompetence and unashamed corruption.

“ People to-day are given adult suffrage which is considered to be the first requisite for laying down the firm foundations of a democratic Government. The Constitution requires them to elect those whom they want to reflect their opinions, needs, aspirations and wants and from whom an executive, a popular Ministry, is to be chosen and entrusted to carry out the decisions of the elected legislature. We need not consider the position at the Centre, but only note this much that the supreme executive of Bharat is the President of India and that of the State, the Governor who is appointed by the President. Whatever the democratic conventions are elsewhere or even in our own country before this Constitution,

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what is there in this Constitution which compels the President or the Governor to accept the advice of the Prime Minister or the Chief Minister in the formation of the Council of Ministers? Article 163 says, 'There shall be a Council of Ministers with the Chief Minister at the head to aid and advise the Governor'; the language of Article 164 of the Constitution is such that it does not compel the Governor to select the Ministers from the elected members of the legislature, not to speak of a majority party in the legislature or the largest group in the legislature. A Minister will only become disqualified to continue as such on the expiry of six months if he is not a member of the legislature for a period of six consecutive months. Therefore, the strict letter of the Constitution enables the Governor to appoint a new Council of Ministers, every six months from outside the legislature and he can play ducks and drakes with any citizen of India without reference to the legislature. Would this House accept this position in the Constitution with equanimity? Would this be a position consistent with correct democratic principles? Would the framers of the Constitution approve of this position if suppose a perverted and hypocritical Governor did this? The principle of collective responsibility of the Ministers to the House is no answer to the Governor's constitutional power and perversions. I am trying to show what kind of democratic tradition and convention His Excellency the Governor has set up in nominating a Member to the Council only to make him Chief Minister and to seek his advice and aid to form the rest of the Council of Ministers. British parliamentary traditions and conventions are said to be our guide, under Article 194, clause (3) till we frame our own rules and establish our own traditions. I recall to you, Sir, His Excellency the Governor's observations in the Address, namely, 'A democratic Constitution like ours will be largely what the voters and legislators make of it. The voters have done their part, and it is up to you, the legislators, to help in evolving sound traditions.' What sound traditions can there be, Sir, when the fundamental principles of democratic system have been violated and the Constitution is ravished by the very guardians who are enjoined to protect and defend the Constitution? This House—this second Chamber—some constitutionalists justly think, is a luxury and a waste. Our Constitution does not see the justice or necessity for the existence of a second Chamber in all the States, however backward some of them are, but only in Part A States, based upon certain population strength. Article 171 constitutes the sanction for our House, which is a body having functional representation of the local bodies, the graduates, the teaching profession, the Legislative Assembly and a nominated group which shall consist of persons having special knowledge or practical experience in literature, science, art, co-operative movement and social service. On what reasonable construction of this clause of the Constitution, does His Excellency the Governor justify, the nomination of two selected men, chiefly, the Hon. Sri C. Rajagopalachari? What art, what science, what literature, what co-operative movement or social service, do these two people represent? It is a travesty of reasoning, of rational interpretation that

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their past greatness as men who filled up responsible positions in the field of governance and administration should be construed as coming within the said concepts. Article 164 does not require the Ministers to be even Members of the Legislature, when appointed. Then what for are they brought in by the Governor as nominated members? The world knows and it is an impossible position for any really democratically-minded man to reconcile himself to, that these people, these eminent politicians, one of whom is our Hon. the Chief Minister, were brought in to rope into a well-knit body, the otherwise discredited Congress Party in the legislature, to apply oxygen to the otherwise diseased and disintegrated body of the party that stood condemned by the people of the State as undeserving of their trust and confidence and to be enemy No. 1 of the Communist Party. To destroy the Communists by any means is A to Z of the Government policy. The roll must be a very gratifying one for our Chief Minister. The Father of the Nation must be gaping at this spectacle. The strict letter of the Constitution is in favour of the Governor's power to appoint anyone. Why then this special insistence upon nominating a person who in a spirit of renunciation has abandoned his post in the centre, who probably, by the utilization of his hours of retirement for the moral and cultural causes of Bharat would have left for us as abiding an impress on the moral structure of the social fabric as Mahatmaji? Why was it that this question of the formation of a Council of Ministers was not allowed to take the natural process of the democratic constitution? Were there not men among the elected Members of the Congress Party to form themselves into a strong group or party with a common purpose and programme and command the confidence of the House? And under what right, what sense of fair play, was the United Democratic Front Legislature Party, with a strength of 165 or 166 denied by His Excellency the Governor even the right to have a fair trial at the formation of a popular Ministry? So, this is where the elected members stand at the portals of the newly-born Sovereign Democratic Republic.

“ Sir, the moment this new Government started, the Andhra part of the State was told by our constitutional experts, that unity of Bharat would be at stake if the aspiration of Andhra for a separate State were allowed to be entertained, at this stage. Our Hon. the Chief Minister probably in a mood of sarcasm has given the Andhras and particularly the elected representatives of the Andhra area the edifying note that the Andhras should have secured their province 100 years back. Our Governor's Address does not even recognize the existence of such a problem as the Andhra State movement by making a reference to it. We know the fate of this is sealed so long as there are members who are henchmen of the present Congress leadership in our Andhra camp. Our leaders have ruined the Andhra cause by shelving it in the name of larger national causes. Our disunity is our grave. For the last three or four days we find here that there is something done in the cause of Visala Andhra. Swamy Sitaram is meeting the Andhra legislators for evolving some unified programme among the legislators who have faith in linguistic provinces as part and

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parcel of the Indian constitutional evolution. Will the Congress Party turn the back pages of Congress history and try to remember that they are wedded to the policy of re-distribution of provinces on a linguistic basis? No. It is not to the present interests of the Congress Government. It is to the interests of the Congress Government that the Andhra legislators should be divided into as many different warring camps as possible. It is to their interests to start keeping Government files separately for Rayalaseema and Andhra."

***SRI M. P. SIVAGNANA GRAMANY :—**"மதிப்பிற்குரிய கனம் தலைவர் அவர்களே, இன்றையதினம் என்னுடைய வாழ்நாளில் புதிதாக சட்டசபையில் பேசக்கூடிய ஒரு சந்தர்ப்பம் ஏற்பட்டிருக்கிறது. தொழிலாளி வகுப்பைச் சேர்ந்த நான் இந்தச் சட்ட சபையிலே மெம்பராகத் தேர்ந்தெடுக்கப் பட்டவுடன் சட்டங்களைப் படித்தேன். ஆனால், சட்டசபை சம்பிரதாயங்களைப் படிக்கவில்லை. அவைகளெல்லாம் படித்துப் புரிந்து கொள்ளக்கூடிய தல்ல. நாளாவட்டத்தில் ஏற்படும் சட்டசபை அனுபவத்தாலும், பயிற்சியாலும் தான் அவைகளைப் புரிந்து கொள்ளமுடியும், பூரணமாக அறிந்து கொள்ளமுடியுமெனத் தெரிந்துகொண்டேன்.

"அந்த முறையில் பார்க்கின்றபோது, இரு சபைகளின் கூட்டுக் கூட்டத்தில் மேன்மை தங்கிய கவர்னர் அவர்கள் பேச ஆரம்பித்தபோது எதிர்க்கட்சித் தலைவர் சட்டசபை ஒழுங்கை மீறி, பண்பாட்டை முறித்து, பழக்க வழக்கத்தைக் குலைத்து கௌரவக் குறைவாகப் பேசியதோடு சபையை விட்டே, கூச்சலிட்டுக்கொண்டு வெளியேறியபோது, மேன்மை தங்கிய கவர்னர் அவர்கள் பிரசங்கத்தின் மேல் நடக்கும் விவாதத்தில் எதிர்க்கட்சியினர்கள் யாருமே கலந்து கொள்ள மாட்டார்களோ என்று பாமரனாகிய நான் நினைத்தேன். ஆனால், அன்று சபையின் கௌரவத்தைக் குலைத்தவர்கள், பரம்பரை சம்பிரதாயத்தை முறித்தவர்கள், கவர்னர் பிரசங்கத்தைக் கேட்காது வெளியேறியவர்கள் இன்று பிரசங்கத்தைக் கேட்டவர்களைவிட அதிகமாக விவாதத்தில் கலந்துகொள்ளுவதுதான் எனக்கு புதிதாக இருக்கின்றது. ஆனாலும், ஒன்று புரிகின்றது. இந்தக் காலத்தில் ஜனநாயக ஆட்சியில் எதிர்க்கட்சியாளர்களுக்கு எல்லை கடந்த உரிமை இருக்கின்றது என்பதை நான் மாத்திரமல்ல, எல்லோருமே புரிந்துகொண்டிருப்பார்களென நினைக்கிறேன்.

"மேன்மை தங்கிய கவர்னர் அவர்களின் சொற்பொழிவை நான் கேட்டேன். அது மட்டுமல்ல, நன்றாகப் படித்துப் பார்த்தேன். ஒரு முறையல்ல, மும்முறையும் படித்தேன். அதைப் படிக்கும்போது ஒன்று தான் என் நினைவுக்கு வந்தது. எதிர்க்கட்சியாளர்கள் சொன்னார்கள் : 'மேன்மை தங்கிய கவர்னர் அவர்கள் நிகழ்த்திய பிரசங்கமானது கனம் ராஜாஜி அவர்கள் தயாரித்த பிரசங்கமாகும். ராஜாஜியின் குரல் அதில் தொனிக்கிறது. அவர் எண்ணங்கள் அதில் பிரதிபலிக்கிறது. அதைப் பார்க்கும் போது சர்க்கார் பின்பற்றப்போகும்! கொள்கையே என்னவென்று தெரியவில்லை' என்பதாகவெல்லாம்.

"இந்தச் சந்தர்ப்பத்தில் நான் படித்த இலக்கியங்களில் ஒன்றாகிய தேவாரப் பாடலில் ஒரு வரியொன்று எனக்கு ஞாபகத்திற்கு வருகிறது. அதாவது 'வித்தகம் பேசவேண்டாம், பணி செய்தல் வேண்டும்' என்பது. மேன்மை தங்கிய கவர்னர் அவர்களும் தன்னுடைய சொற்பொழிவில் அழகாக, மிக அருமையாக 'சட்டசபையீர், வித்தகம் பேசவேண்டாம். மக்களுக்குப் பணி செய்தல் வேண்டும்' என்ற உன்னத தத்துவத்தை விளக்கியிருக்கின்றார்கள். நாட்டிற்கு அவசியமான பிரச்சனை எது, அவசரமாக கவனிக்கப்படவேண்டிய பிரச்சினை எது என்பதையெல்லாம் விடுத்து, மேன்மை தங்கிய கவர்னர் அவர்கள் தேர்தலில் பூரண மெஜாரிட்டி பெறாத கட்சியை அழைத்து, மந்திரிசபை யமைக்கச் சொன்னது தவறு; கனம் ராஜாஜியை மேல் சபைக்கு நியமனம் செய்தது அரசியல் பண்பாட்டிற்கே முரணானது; முரண்பாடான கொள்கையைக் கொண்ட பல உதிரிக் கட்சிகள் ஒன்று சேர்ந்

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திருக்கும் ஐக்கிய ஜனநாயக முன்னணிக் கட்சியை மந்திரிசபையமைக்கச் சொல்லாதது மகத்தான குற்றம் என்பதாக வெல்லாம் எதிர்க் கட்சியாளர்கள் வீண் வாதம்செய்தார்களே தவிர, இன்று இந்த மாகாணத்தை எதிர் நோக்கியுள்ள உணவுப் பஞ்சத்தை, குடி தண்ணீர்ப் பஞ்சத்தை வேறு இது மாதிரியான அவசிய அவசரப் பிரச்சினைகள் எதையும் கொஞ்சங் கூட கருதியதாகவே தெரிபவிலலை. ரயலசீமா பஞ்சத்தைப் போக்குவதற்கு சர்க்கார் எடுத்துக்கொண்டிருக்கும் நடவடிக்கைகளைப்பற்றியும், உணவு உடைப் பிரச்சினையைப்பற்றியும் மேன்மை தங்கிய கவர்னர் அவர்கள் பொறுப்புணர்ச்சியோடு எல்லா விவசாயத் தலைவர்களையும்விட, நெசவாளிகள் சங்கத்தலைவர்களைவிட, நன்றாகத் தன் பிரசங்கத்தின் முதலிலேயே எடுத்தவிளக்கியிருக்கின்றார். பாட்டாளி வகுப்பைச் சேர்ந்த நான் அதற்காக அவரைப் பாராட்டுகின்றேன்.

“சட்டசபை சம்பிரதாயங்களைக் கற்றுக்கொள்ள ஆரம்பித்த நான் முதலிலே மே.த. கவர்னர் அவர்கள் செய்த பிரசங்கத்தில் உள்ள விஷயங்களை மட்டுமே எடுத்துக்கொண்டு இந்தச் சட்டசபையிலே விவாதம் நடக்குமென்று நினைத்தேன். ஆனால், சட்டசபை நடவடிக்கைக்கு உட்படாததான, பிரசங்கத்திலே குறிப்பிடப் படாததான, அவசிய, அவசரப் பிரச்சினைகளாகவே இல்லாததான, அனாவசியமான பல விஷயங்களைப்பற்றி எதிர்க்கட்சியாளர்கள் பேசுவதைத்தான் பார்க்கிறேன்.

“கனம் ராஜாஜி அவர்களை மேன்மை தங்கிய கவர்னர் அவர்கள் மேல் சபைக்கு நியமனம் செய்தது தவறானது, அரசியல் பண்பாட்டுக்கே முரணானது என்பதாக வெல்லாம் கேட்டுப் புளித்துப் புளித்துப்போன விஷயத்தைப் பற்றியே தாங்கள் தான் அரசியல் மேதாவிகள் என்பது போல, தங்களுக்குத் தான் அரசியல் பண்பாடு யாவும் தெரியும் என்பது போல, தாங்கள் தான் சிக்கலான சட்டங்களின் நுணுக்கங்கள் எல்லாம் புரிந்துகொண்டவர்கள் என்பது போல சொல் மாரி பொழிந்தார்கள். எதிர்க்கட்சியாளர்களுக்கு நான் சொல்லுகின்றேன், ‘கனம் ராஜாஜி அவர்கள் மேல் சபைக்கு நியமனம் செய்யப்படுவதாலும்கூட சென்னை மாகாணத்தின் முதல் மந்திரியாக சட்டப்படியே வந்திருக்க முடியும். ஆனால், மதிப்பிற்குரிய கனம் ராஜாஜி அவர்கள் நல்ல சம்பிரதாயம், ஜனநாயகப் பண்பாடு இவற்றை நிறுவுவதிலேயே நம்பிக்கையுள்ளவர். ஆகவே, தான் மேற்சபை அங்கத்தினராகக் கூட இல்லாமல் முதன் மந்திரியாக வருவது சரியல்ல என்ற காரணத்தினால், மகாத்மா காந்தியடிகளின் உண்மை பக்தர் என்ற முறையில் இருசபையிலும் அங்கத்தினராயில்லாமல் 6 மாத காலம் பிரதமராய் இருக்க முடியும் என்றபோதிலும், அதை ஒப்புக்கொள்ள மறுத்தார். அவ்வாறு அவர் வருவதைக் காட்டிலும் இப்பொழுது அவர் வந்திருக்கும் முறையானது சட்டசபையின் சீரிய பண்பாட்டிற்கு ஓர் உதாரணமாகும். எதிர்க்கட்சி மெம்பர்களில் சிலர், ‘ராஜாஜி அவர்களே, ராஜினாமா செய்யுங்கள், தேர்தலுக்கு வந்து நின்று வெற்றி பெறுங்கள், பார்ப்போம்’ என்று சவால் விடுகிறார்கள். சந்தர்ப்பம் சவால்விட்டால்—அரசியல் சட்டம் அறை கூவிலால் ஒரு தொகுதியில் அல்ல, அசெம்பளியில் எல்லாத் தொகுதிகளிலும்—மொத்தமுள்ள 375 ஸ்தானங்களிலுமே நாங்கள் அவர்களை சந்திக்கத் தயங்க மாட்டோம்’ என்று நான் அவர்களுக்குச் சவால் விடுகிறேன்.

“நாங்கள் மக்களுக்குச் சேவை செய்வதற்காகத்தான் இங்கே இருக்கிறோம். மக்களுடைய நன்மைக்காக பாடுபட்டமைக்கவேதான் இங்கே இருக்கிறோம். இந்நாட்டில் பிறந்த ஒவ்வொருவருடைய உரிமையையும், உடைமையையும், உயிரையும் பாதுகாப்பதற்காகத்தான் இங்கே இருக்கிறோம். மக்கள் எங்களை அப்படியே தேர்ந்தெடுக்கவில்லையென்றாலும் அதைப்பற்றி வெட்கப்படவேண்டிய அவசியமும் எங்களுக்கு இல்லை. வெற்றி, தோல்வியென்பது சந்தர்ப்பத்தை யொட்டியே ஏற்படுகிறது. வெற்றிக்கும் தோல்விக்கும் சட்டசபைக்குள்ளே வித்தியாசம் கிடையாது. சட்டசபைக்குள் வந்தவர்கள் நாட்டின் நலனைக்கருதி, மக்களின் கேடிமத்தை எண்ணி உழைப்பது ஒன்றே கடமையாகும். எதிர்க்கட்சியாளர்கள் இன்று அதை மறந்தே விட்டார்கள் என்பதை நான் சொல்ல வேண்டியதேயில்லை. சட்டசபைக்குள்ளேயும், வெளியேயும், பொதுமேடைகளிலேயும் பொறுப்பற்ற முறையிலே

10th May 1952] [Sri M. P. Sivagnana Gramany]

கனம் ராஜாஜி மந்திரிசபையைப்பற்றி அவதூறுகப் பேசுவதும் கனம் ராஜாஜி மந்திரிசபைக்கு ஒத்துழைப்புக் கொடுக்க முன்வருவார்களா? கொடும்பாவி கட்டி இழுப்பதும் அவர்களது கடமையை மீறிய செய்கைக்குச் சான்றாகும். இதனாலெல்லாம் கனம் ராஜாஜி அவர்கள் தான் ஆற்றவேண்டிய பணியிலிருந்து பின்வாங்கிவிட்டார்களே. கனம் ராஜாஜி அவர்களோடு நெடு நாள் பழகிய காங்கிரஸ் தொண்டன் என்ற முறையிலே ஒன்றை நான் நன்றாக எடுத்துச் சொல்ல முடியும். மேற் சபைக்கு கவர்னரால் நியமனம் செய்யப்பட்டுவந்து, மந்திரி பதவியை ஒப்புக்கொள்ளுவது சட்டத்திற்கு முரணானது, சட்டசபை சம்பிரதாயத்திற்கே முரணானது, அரசியல் பண்பாட்டிற்கே விரோதமானது என்று இருக்குமேயானால் உலகமெல்லாம் ஒன்றாகத் திரண்ட எங்கள் ராஜாஜி முன் வந்து 'ராஜாஜி அவர்களே, நீங்கள் மந்திரி பதவியை ஒப்புக்கொள்ளத்தான் வேண்டும், கவர்னர் நியமனம் செய்திருப்பதை அங்கீகரிக்க வேண்டும்' என்று கேட்டிருந்தாலும் கூட ஒப்புக்கொண்டிருக்கமாட்டார்கள் என்பதை இன்று நான் எதிர்க் கட்சியாளர்களுக்குச் சொல்லுகின்றேன் ('hear, hear').

"எதிர்க் கட்சித் தலைவர் சட்டசபை சம்பிரதாயம் தெரிந்தவர், சட்டசபை அரசியல் வரலாற்றைத் தெரிந்தவர் என்றால், மதிப்பிற்குரிய எங்கள் தலைவர் கனம் ராஜாஜி அவர்கள் சட்டசபை சம்பிரதாயங்களையெல்லாம் ஆக்கிய தலைவர், சட்டசபை அரசியல் வரலாற்றைச் சிருஷ்டித்த மாபெரும் தலைவராவார். அவரே வங்காளத்தின் கவர்னராக இருந்தவர். இந்தியாவின் கவர்னர்-ஜெனரலாக மதிப்போடு பதவிய வகித்தவர். இந்திய உள்நாட்டு மந்திரியாக பணியாற்றியவர். இம் மாகாணத்தின் பிரதமராகவும் இருந்து இந்திய சரித்திரத்திற்கே உருக்கொடுத்து, ஜனநாயகம், சம்பிரதாயம் முதலியவற்றை சிருஷ்டித்த பிஷ்மர்களில் ஒருவராவார் நம் ராஜாஜி. அப்படி சட்டத்தையும், சம்பிரதாயங்களையும், வரலாற்றையும், ஒழுங்கையும் சிருஷ்டித்த மதிப்பிற்குரிய மேன்மை தங்கிய அரசியல் சிற்பி ராஜாஜி அவர்களா, தானே ஆக்கிய சட்டத்தை மீறி, தானே ஏற்படுத்திய சம்பிரதாயத்தை முறித்து, தானே சிருஷ்டித்த புனித வரலாறு மாசுபட, பதவிக்கு வருவார் என்பதை எதிர்க்கட்சியாளர்கள் சற்று யோசித்து உணரக்கூடாதா? தங்களைப் போலவே பிறரும் நடப்பார்கள், நடந்திருப்பார்கள் என்று எண்ணிவிடுவது தப்பல்லவா? சட்ட வரம்பிற்குப்பட்டு, சட்டசபை சம்பிரதாயத்திற்குப்பட்டு, அரசியல் வரலாற்றை மீறாத ஒரு செய்கையான கனம் ராஜாஜி நியமனத்தைப்பற்றி அவர்கள் தாறுமாறாகப் பேசும் பொழுது எனது நெஞ்சு விம்முகிறது. மனம் நோவு எடுக்கின்றது. 73 வயது ஆகின்ற கனம் ராஜாஜியின் முதிர்ந்த அனுபவமும், ஆற்றலும், தெள்ளிய அறிவும் இப்பால் நிற்கின்றது. 40 வருட சமூகத் தொண்டு பொதுச் சேவை அப்பால் நிற்கின்றது. அவரா சட்டத்தை மீறிய, சம்பிரதாயத்தை முறித்த ஒரு காரியத்தைச் செய்வார் என்பதை எதிர்க் கட்சியாளர்கள் புரிந்துகொள்ள மறுப்பது வருந்தத்தக்கதாகும். முக்கியமாக நான் மிகவும் வருந்துகிறேன். சட்டங்களை மீறியது, பழக்க வழக்கத்தை மீறியது, சம்பிரதாயத்தை முறித்தது எங்கள் கட்சித் தலைவர் ராஜாஜி அல்ல, எதிர்க் கட்சியின் தலைவரே தான் என்பதை அவர்கள் உணர்ந்து கொள்ளவேண்டும்.

"எதிர்க் கட்சியில் கம்யூனிஸ்டு அங்கத்தினர் கனம் ஸ்ரீ ராஜேஸ்வர ராவ் அவர்கள் ஒன்று கூறினார்கள் : 'நேற்று கனம் ராஜாஜி அவர்கள் விடுத்த சவால் கம்யூனிஸ்டு கட்சிக்கு மாத்திரம் விடுத்த சவால் அல்ல; இம் மாகாணத்திலுள்ள முற்போக்கு சக்தி அத்தனைக்கும் விடுத்த சவாலாகும்' என்று. அது உண்மையானது என்றால், காங்கிரஸ்காரர்கள் யாருமே அதை வாய்வேற்கமாட்டார்கள். ஏனென்றால் முற்போக்கு சக்தி தான் காங்கிரஸ் கட்சி. எல்லா முற்போக்கு சக்திகளுக்கும் அடிவேர் ஜீவநதி காங்கிரஸ். இந்த ஜீவநதியின் ஊற்றாக இருப்பவர் ராஜாஜி. முற்போக்குக் கொள்கையுடையவர்கள் தான் காங்கிரஸ்காரர்கள். முற்போக்கு சக்தியான காங்கிரசுக்கு எந்த பிற்போக்கு சக்திகள் முட்டுக்கட்டை போட்டாலும், முற்போக்கு கொள்கை கொண்ட காங்கிரஸ்காரர்கள், அதை

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முறித்தே திருவார்கள். நேற்று சட்டசபையிலே கனம் ராஜாஜி அவர்கள் பேசிய பேச்சுக்கள் யாவும் சத்தியத்தை நம்பி வாழ்ந்த, அஹிம்சா முறையையே உபதேசித்து ஜீவித்து வந்த, பலாத்காரம் எந்த இடத்திலிருந்து முனையதாலும், அதைக் கண்டு உள்ளம் கொதித்து சீறி எழுந்து வாழ்ந்த அண்ணல் மகாத்மா காந்திஜி அவர்களின் ஆவியே தான் அவர் மூலமாக இதயக் குரல் கொடுத்ததே தவிர, கனம் ராஜாஜி பேசிய பேச்சல்ல. ('hear, hear'). அதைப்பற்றி நிதி அமைச்சர் கனம் ஸ்ரீ சுப்ரமணியம் அவர்கள் சொல்வது அழகாக எடுத்துச் சொன்னார்கள். 'கனம் ராஜாஜி அவர்கள் கம்யூனிஸ்டு அங்கத்தினர்களான ஸ்ரீ ராஜேஸ்வர ராவ் அவர்களோடோ, ஸ்ரீ நாகி ரெட்டி அவர்களோடோ, ஸ்ரீ ராமமூர்த்தி அவர்களோடோ தனிப்பட்ட முறையிலே யாருடனும் போர் தொடுக்கப் போவதில்லை. அந்தக் கட்சியார் கைக்கொள்ளும் பலாத்காரத்தின் மீதே போர் தொடுக்கப்போகின்றோம்' என்று பலாத்காரம் எங்கிருந்து வந்தாலும், எந்தக் கட்சியார் கைக் கொண்டாலும், முனைத்த பலாத்காரத்தை ஆணிலே, பக்கவோர்களோடு கூட பூண்டோடு அறுத்தெரியவே போகிறேன் என்று கனம் ராஜாஜி அவர்கள் சொன்னாரென்றால், அதை மாகாணப் பிரதமர் என்ற ஹோதாவிலே அல்லாமல், போலீஸ் இலாகாவின் தலைவர் என்ற எண்ணத்திலேயும் அல்லாமல், சத்திய அஹிம்சா தர்மத்தை உபதேசி தேசப் பிதாமகாத்மா காந்திஜி அவர்களின் பிரதம சீடர் என்ற முறையிலேதான் சொல்லியிருப்பார் என்று நான் உறுதியாகக் கூறமுடியும். ஆனால், அதை மாற்றுக்கட்சித் தலைவர் புரிந்துகொண்டதாகவே தெரியவில்லை. அவர்கள் கொள்கையிலே பலாத்காரமிருக்கின்றது. அவர்களது சென்றகால நடத்தையை எடுத்துப் பார்த்தாலும் அவைகள் ஒவ்வொன்றிலும் பலாத்காரம் தோய்ந்து கிடக்கின்றது. வருங்கால நடைமுறைச் செயல்களின் திட்டங்களைப் பார்க்குமிடத்தும் அவர்கள் பலாத்காரத்தில் இறங்கக் கூடுமோ யென்ற ஐயப்பாடு எழுகின்றது. ஆனால், அவர்கள் அடிக்கடி சொல்லுகின்றார்கள், அப்படிக்கிடையாதென்று. நல்லது. அதைத்தான் வரவேற்கின்றோம். மாற்றுக் கட்சியார்களுக்கு கொளரவமான ஒரு வேண்டுகோள். பலாத்காரத்தைப்பற்றிய எண்ணம் வேண்டாம். பலாத்காரத்தில் காரியங்களைச் சாதிப்பது பற்றி சிந்திக்கவே வேண்டாம். வறுமையிலும், அறியாமையிலும் வாடி வதங்கும் பாமா மக்களை ஏமாற்றி முதலாளி தொழிலாளி, வர்க்கப் போராட்டத்திற்கு—நான் ஒரு முதலாளி அல்ல—வித்து துவல் வேண்டாம். குழப்பத்தை உணர்ப்பணிக் மக்களின் கஷ்ட வறுமை நிலையை மிகைப்படுத்திக் காட்டிச் செய்ய முடியாததான, நடக்க முடியாததான பல காரியங்களைச் செய்து விடுவோம் என்பதாக சமயத்திற்கு ஏற்றபடி பொய்யுறைத்து துஷ்பிரசாரம் செய்வதில் இறங்காமல் நாட்டின் நலனைக் கருதி, நாட்டின் நிலைமையைக் கருதி, மக்களின் நிலையான, அமைதியான வாழ்வைக் கருதி, பொறுப்புணர்ச்சியோடு பணி செய்யுங்கள் என்று சொல்ல நான் கடமைப்பட்டிருக்கிறேன்.

“ஸ்ரீ ராஜேஸ்வர ராவ் அவர்கள்” முற்போக்கு சக்திகளுக்கே கனம் ராஜாஜி எதிரி என்று குறிப்பிடப்பொழுது முற்போக்கு சக்தி என்று யாரைக் குறிப்பிடுகிறார்கள், எந்தக் கட்சியைக் குறிப்பிடுகிறார்கள் என்று எனக்குத் தெரியவில்லை. யார் யார் காங்கிரஸை எதிர்க்கின்றார்களோ, யார் யார் காங்கிரஸ்காரர்களைப்பற்றி குறை கூறுகின்றார்களோ, அவர்களுள்ளும் முற்போக்கு சக்தியுடையவர்கள் என்று கருதி அவர் கூறியிருப்பாரேயானால், அதை நான் எதிர்க்கின்றேன். காங்கிரஸை இன்று பழிப்பவர்கள், காங்கிரஸை இன்று எதிர்ப்பவர்கள், காங்கிரஸின் கொள்கையை இன்று மறுக்கின்றவர்கள், ஒரு காலத்தில் காங்கிரஸிலேயே இருந்தவர்கள் என்பதையும், பின்னர் காங்கிரஸை விட்டு வெளியேறியவர்கள் என்பதையும் யாரும் மறக்கமுடியாது. காங்கிரஸை விட்டு எவரெவர்கள் வெளியேற்றப்படவேண்டுமோ அவர்களே தான் வெளியேறினார்கள். வெளியேறிவந்தபின் அவர்கள் ஒன்று சேர்ந்த ஒரு கட்சியை ஸ்தாபித்தால் அது முற்போக்கு சக்தியையுடையது என்று யாராவது சொன்னால் அது மிகவும் எதிர்க்கவேண்டிய விஷயமாகும். முற்போக்குவாதிகள் என்று

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சொல்லக்கூடிய அவர்களுடைய சரித்திரத்தை, அவர்களுடைய வரலாற்றை, அவர்களுடைய சென்ற கால நடவடிக்கைகளை, பண்பாட்டை கனம் ஸ்ரீ ராஜேஸ்வர ராவ் அவர்கள் எடுத்துப் பார்க்கட்டும். முற்போக்கு வாதிகளா? முற்போக்கு சக்திகளுக்கு முட்டுக்கட்டை போடும் முதல் நம்பர் முற்போக்கு வாதிகளா என்பதைப் பார்க்கட்டும். நல்லவர்கள் சிலரும் பதவி கிடைக்காத ஏமாற்றத்தால் காங்கிரஸிலிருந்து வெளியேறினர். சந்தர்ப்ப வாதிகளான அவர்கள் சூழ்நிலைக்கேற்றபடி காங்கிரஸை எதிர்க்கும் கட்சி யோடு சேர்ந்தார்களே தவிர முற்போக்கு கொள்கை அவர்களுக்கு உண்டா? முற்போக்கு திட்டங்கள் அவர்களிடம் உண்டா என்பதைக் கவனிக்கட்டும். தேர்தலிலே காங்கிரஸிற்குத் தேரில்லிகள் ஏற்பட்டு விட்டது என்பதனால் அது ஒரு பிற்போக்கு வகுப்பு ஸ்தாபனம் ஆகிவிட முடியுமா? தமிழ் நாட்டு காங்கிரஸ் ஊழியன், தமிழ் நாட்டு அரசியல் தொண்டன் என்ற முறையிலே தமிழ் நாட்டைப் பொறுத்த வரையில் ஒன்று நான் சொல்ல முடியும். தமிழ் நாட்டில் காங்கிரஸிற்குத் தொல்வி கிடையாது, அதைத்தேற்கடிக்கவும் முடியாது என்பதுதான் அது. 190 ஸ்தானங்கள் கொண்ட தமிழ் நாட்டில் 185 ஸ்தானங்களுக்கு காங்கிரஸ் போட்டியிட்டது. 96 ஸ்தானங்களிலே காங்கிரஸ் வெற்றிபெற்றது. மற்ற 5 இடங்களில் காங்கிரஸ்காரர்களே சயேச்சையாக நின்று போட்டியிட்டதால் காங்கிரஸ் சார்பாக அங்கே ஆட்களை நிறுத்தவில்லை, அந்த ஸ்தானங்களிலிருந்து சயேச்சைவாதிகளாய் ஜெயித்துவந்தவர்கள் இன்று சாங்கிரஸிலேயே சேர்ந்துவிட்டார்கள். ஆகவே மொத்தமுள்ள 190 ஸ்தானங்களில் 103 ஸ்தானங்களைக் காங்கிரஸ் தமிழ் நாட்டைப் பொறுத்தவரையில் கைப்பற்றிவிட்டது. பூரண மெஜாரிட்டி இங்கே கிடைத்திருக்கிறது. சட்டரீதியான மெஜாரிட்டியைப்பற்றியே நான் பேசுகிறேன். புள்ளிவிவரமும் அதையே தான் பேசுகிறது.

“அடுத்தபடியாக, கம்யூனிஸ்டு கட்சி ஏதோ பெரிய வெற்றியை அடைந்துவிட்டது போலப் பேசுகிறார்கள். தமிழ் நாட்டிலுள்ள 190 ஸ்தானங்களில் 56 ஸ்தானங்களுக்கே அக்கட்சியார் அபேட்சகர்களை நிறுத்த முடிந்தது. அந்த 56 ஸ்தானங்களிலும் 13 ஸ்தானங்களைத்தான் அவர்களால் கைப்பற்ற முடிந்தது. அதுவும் கூட காங்கிரஸ்காரர் பிளவுபட்டு நின்ற இடத்திலேயேதான் வெற்றி அடைய முடிந்தது. இதிலிருந்து காங்கிரஸ் கட்சி தமிழ் நாட்டைப் பொறுத்தவரையிலும் தோல்வியடையவில்லை. தோல்வியடையச் செய்யவும் முடியாதென்பதை எல்லோரும் உணர்ந்து கொள்ளவேண்டும், என நான் கேட்டுக்கொள்ளுகிறேன்.

“அடுத்தபடியாக, மதுவிலக்குச் சட்டத்தை ரத்து செய்துவிடவேண்டுமென்பதாக சிலர் இந்தச் சபையிலே பேசக்கேட்டேன். அதைப்பற்றி என்னால் கொஞ்சம் விரிவாகப் பேசமுடியும். ஆனால், நேரம் இல்லாததன் காரணமாக ஒரே ஒரு விஷயத்தை மாதிரம் இங்கே குறிப்பிட விரும்புகிறேன். மதுவிலக்குச் சட்டத்தை அமலுக்குக்கொண்டு வந்ததின் காரணமாக சாராயத்தால் வந்த வருமானம், தென்னை மரக்கள்ளால் வந்த கலால் வருமானம் 16 கோடி ரூபாயும் எங்கே போயிற்று? ஆங்கில நாட்டிற்குக் கப்பலேறி விட்டதா? அமெரிக்கா நாட்டிற்கு விமானம் ஏறி விட்டதா? அப்படி எதுவுமே இல்லை. அரசாங்கப் பொக்கிஷத்தில் இருந்த அத்தனை பணமும் இன்று அடுப்பங்கரை அரசிகளின் கையில் போய்ச் சேர்ந்திருக்கிறது. மதுவிலக்குச் சட்டத்தில் திருத்தம் செய்ய கனம் பிரதமர் அவர்கள் விரும்பினால் அவருக்கு ஒரே ஒரு வேண்டுகோள். ‘இங்கே பேசக்கூடிய ஒரு சில அங்கத்தினர்களின் வார்த்தையை நம்பி அதில் ஏதாவது செய்து விடாதீர்கள். நாட்டுப்புறங்களில் உள்ள பல்லாயிரக்கணக்கான சகோதரிகள், தாய்மார்கள் முதலியவர்களுடைய எண்ணத்தை எடுத்துக்காட்டவாய்ப்பளித்து அந்த அடுப்பங்கரை அரசிகளின் எண்ணங்கள் இங்கே பிரதிபலிக்கவும் அந்த அடுப்பங்கரை அரசிகளின் அபிப்பிராயங்கள் இங்கே இடம் பெறவும், அந்த அடுப்பங்கரை அரசிகளின் குரல்கள் இங்கே ஒலிக்கவும் ஒரு சந்தர்ப்பத்தை அளியுங்கள்’ என்று கேட்டுக்கொண்டு மேன்மை தங்கிய கவர்னர் அவர்களைப் பாராட்டும் தீர்மானத்தை நான் வரவேற்று அதை எகமனதாக நிறைவேற்றவேண்டுமெனக் கேட்டுக்கொள்ளுகிறேன்.”

[10th May 1952]

MR. CHAIRMAN :—" The House will now adjourn and meet again at 11 a.m. on Tuesday, 13th May 1952."

The House then adjourned to meet again at 11 a.m. on Tuesday, 13th May 1952.

III.—PAPERS LAID ON THE TABLE OF THE HOUSE.

1. *Appropriation Accounts, 1949-50 and the Audit Report, 1951.*
2. *Finance Accounts, 1949-50 and the Audit Report, 1950.*

